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THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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BULLETIN 26–27

STOCKHOLM 1991–1992

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The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities
MEDELHAVSMUSEET

Fredsgatan 2, Stockholm
Postal address: Box 5405, S-114 84 Stockholm, Sweden

In this journal, the style of references recommended by the *Opuscula Atheniensia* and the *Opuscula Romana* (*OpAth* 17, 1988, 241–243) is followed. Abbreviations of periodicals and standard works follow the standard usage as in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (vol. 95, 1991, 4–16) and in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

Recommended abbreviation for this journal:
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Ancient Near Eastern Objects with

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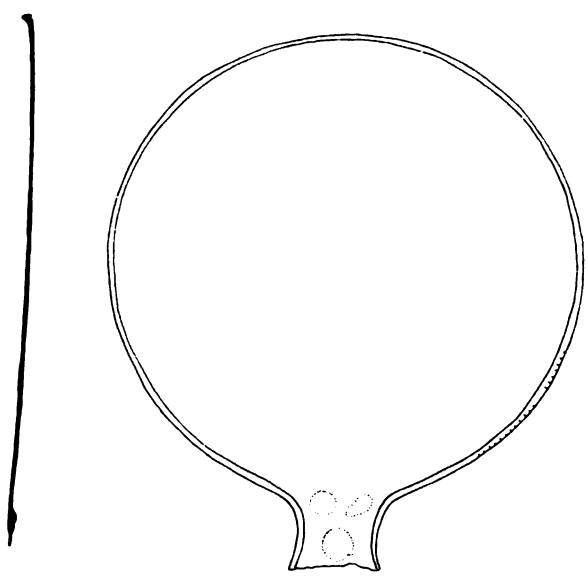
Corrigenda (illustrations)

– In Fig. 1 on page 91 the section drawing originally placed to the left of the drawing of the obverse side of the mirror has been left out. The complete figure is reproduced below:



– Fig. 34 on page 59 is mirror reversed.

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Ancient Near Eastern Objects with Cuneiform Inscriptions

Part I. Sumerian and Old Babylonian Royal Inscriptions

Olof Pedersén

There are a number of objects from the Ancient Near East in Swedish museums and private collections. The largest Swedish collection of objects from this area is in Medelhavsmuseet, covering especially Ancient Mesopotamia, Syria, Iran and South Arabia. A small part of the material is at present on show in the museum, comprising an Assyrian palace relief of Assurnasirpal II and some twenty cuneiform texts. Very few Swedish archaeological expeditions have been excavating in the Near East; the expedition directed by T.J. Arne in Iran in 1933 was the most important, as far as objects in Swedish museums are concerned. Therefore most objects from the Ancient Near East in Medelhavsmuseet, as well as in other collections, are gifts, deposits or purchases. The objects inscribed with cuneiform texts in the museum are all of such sources.

With the present article, I will start the publication of the objects inscribed with cuneiform script in the museum. Part I, presented here, gives nine objects, which have inscriptions from kings during the oldest periods of Mesopotamian history, i.e. from the Sumerian to the Old Babylonian Periods. The next part is planned to contain the royal inscriptions from later periods. After that may follow other inscriptions on clay tablets.

In cultures using cuneiform script, clay tablets were used for all ordinary documentation like economic and legal documents, letters, and literary and scientific texts. Such clay tablets were normally preserved in archives and libraries placed in rooms inside ancient houses. On the other hand, royal inscriptions, like those published here, can often be classified as monumental inscriptions. They are as a rule not written on clay tablets, but on other objects, and are commonly placed invisibly inside the walls of monumental buildings, like temples or palaces – sometimes, however, visibly on the surface of the walls. For example, a number of bricks in such buildings could carry stamped or written inscriptions. Other common objects with such inscriptions, placed in the brickwork of the walls, are stone tablets, clay cones, and clay cylinders or prisms. The shafts of the clay cones were pressed into the brickworks of the walls, leaving only the heads visible. Stone tablets or clay cylinders were placed invisibly inside the brickwork of the walls. The inscribed objects from older periods, published here, consist of clay cones and stone tablets; from later periods to follow are also a reliefed stone wall plate, a clay cylinder and bricks. Reliefed stone plates were placed visibly on the walls. Statues and stelae were of course placed free-standing inside, sometimes outside, buildings.

The inscriptions on such objects inside the walls of a building, or on the surface of the walls, were in most cases building inscriptions, giving information about the king ordering the building to be constructed, as well as information about the purpose of the building, e.g. a temple for a specific god or a palace for the ruler. Sometimes there may in addition be information about wars conducted by the king, as well as blessings for coming rulers, who protect the inscribed object when they in the future reconstruct the building – alternatively, curses for those not doing so. Inscriptions on free-standing objects sometimes lack the building inscription, and may contain only a dedication of the object itself to a god. For archaeologists, such monumental inscriptions, found in the brickwork of a monumental building, are of great importance giving information about the ruler ordering the construction, and therefore the date of the building, and the purpose of it.

The cuneiform royal inscriptions published here date to the period *c.* 2450–1763 B.C., i.e. from the late Early Dynastic Period to the end of the Isin-Larsa Period (or

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early part of the Old Babylonian Period). The Early Dynastic Period (*c.* 2900–2300 B.C.) was the time with Sumerian city-states in southern Mesopotamia in the south part of Modern Iraq. This was the area where writing had been invented *c.* 3200 B.C. During the later part of the Early Dynastic Period, cuneiform writing was used for writing thousands of clay tablets, no longer only for the temple administration, as in the beginning, but also, e.g., for monumental inscriptions. From this time stem the clay cones of the ruler Entemena (Nos. 1–2). From the main part of the following Old Akkadian Period (*c.* 2300–2200 B.C.), when the official language was the Semitic Old Akkadian, the museum has no monumental inscriptions. However, from the ruler Ur-Baba and his successor Gudea (*c.* 2150–2100 B.C.) during the following intermediate period, there are two clay cones (Nos. 3–4). During the Third Dynasty of Ur (*c.* 2100–2000 B.C.), there is, like the last mentioned period, an almost indefinite number of cuneiform texts written in the Neo-Sumerian language in various collections over the world. From this period stems one clay cone of the king Shulgi (No. 5) and one lapis-lazuli tablet of the king Amar-Suen (No. 6). During the next period, the Isin-Larsa Period (or Early Old Babylonian Period) (*c.* 2000–1800 B.C.) the political power went over to Old Babylonians or Amorites. The spoken language was Akkadian in the form of the Old Babylonian dialect, but monumental inscriptions continued for a long time to be written also in Sumerian. From this period, we have a fragment of a statue of Iddin-Dagan (No. 7) and a clay cone of Lipit-Ishtar (No. 8), both from the city Isin. Furthermore there is a stone tablet of the wife of the king Rim-Sin of the city Larsa (No. 9). This was the last king in that city before the well-known king Hammurabi of Babylon laid all of Mesopotamia under the hegemony of Babylon and started the main part of the Old Babylonian period (*c.* 1800–1600 B.C.).

The geographical distribution of the inscribed objects presented here is concentrated to southern Mesopotamia. Best attested in our material is the city-state of Lagash in the eastern part of the Sumerian area. There the main city Girsu (Modern Tello) is attested in three of the inscriptions of Ur-Baba, Gudea and Shulgi (Nos. 3, 4, 5), and the city Badtibira (Modern Madain), also belonging to the Lagash state, in the two oldest inscriptions, viz. those of Entemena (Nos. 1–2). The town Karzida near the city Ur in the southern part of the Sumerian area is once attested from the reign of Amar-Suen (No. 6). From the Isin-Larsa period, two inscriptions originated from Isin (Modern Ishan al-Bahrijat) during the reign of Iddin-Dagan and Lipit-Ishtar (Nos. 7–8) and one from Larsa (Modern Sinkara) during the reign of Rim-Sin (No. 9).

The objects with cuneiform royal inscriptions published here stem from a few donators or sellers. Kings and queens of Sweden have donated a number of objects to Swedish museums. Three of the inscribed objects presented here came from the royal family. King Gustav VI Adolf donated two of the objects, the clay cone No. 1 (NM 2089), and the stone tablet No. 9 (NM 2091). He had purchased these objects from an antiquity dealer in Baghdad when he as crown prince visited Iraq in 1935. The fragment of a stone statue, No. 7 (MM 1974:26), king Gustav VI Adolf for many years had on his personal writing table; after his death it was given to Medelhavsmuseet.

Three of the objects with cuneiform royal inscriptions stem from Dr. Alfred Haldar in Uppsala: he sold the clay cones No. 2 (MM 1977:11), and No. 4 (MM 1961:20) to the museum; the clay cone No. 8 (MM 1977:10) was a gift. Dr. Haldar (1907–1986), was docent in Assyriology at the University of Uppsala, and lecturer at a Gymnasium in Stockholm. For a number of years, he was the only Assyriologist in Sweden. For a few years he was able to work at the University, but during long periods he had to rely on his other job. He sold or donated the objects in his own small collection to the Medelhavsmuseet.

One clay cone No. 3 (Békésy 184) belongs to a donation from the Hungarian-American professor Georg von Békésy (1899–1972). He was leader of the research-department at the Hungarian telephone company until he left Hungary in 1946. After spending a period at the Karolinska Institutet in Stockholm (1946–1947), he was appointed professor at Harvard University (1947–1966), and after that he served at the University of Hawaii. In 1961, he was awarded the Nobel Price for Physiology or Medicine in Stockholm. His good relations to Sweden resulted in several donations received by Swedish museums in 1972. The numbers connected with the objects in these donations are still those given by von Békésy himself.

One stone tablet, No. 6 (MM 1957:4), was acquired from Mr. J.M. Bushara, Lidingö. The source of two clay cones, No. 5 (Acc. 997) and Acc. 998, are unknown. The clay cone Acc. 998 is not included in the publication here, because it has for several years not been possible to locate it in the Museum, despite extensive search.

For two of the objects, Nos. 6 and 8, I must admit

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that I cannot exclude that they are very well-done modern copies, but this has not been possible to prove, and they may also be genuine.

In the following, the inscribed objects will be presented in chronological order. For each, there will be photos of all sides with inscription, short description, bibliography, transliteration of the cuneiform text and a translation. Most of the objects contain inscriptions more or less identical with inscriptions on similar objects already published. Even some of the inscriptions in Medelhavsmuseet have been published, but they have mostly only been included in publications of composite texts. Therefore weight will be put here on the specific texts on the individual objects. The bibliography for each text only lists the most important and recent works; additional bibliographical information can be found in the works listed. The transliterations agree essentially with recent published ones, but show the detailed characteristics of the present objects. The translations agree on most essentials with published ones, and are given here as handy references for people interested in the objects in Medelhavsmuseet.

1–2. Two clay cones of Entemena, ruler of Lagash, NM 2089 (*Figs. 1a–d*) and MM 1977:11 (*Figs. 2a–d*)

No. 1: NM 2089, well-preserved cone of baked clay with Sumerian inscription. Length 25 cm, max. diameter 8.0 cm.
No. 2: MM 1977:11, cone of baked clay with Sumerian inscription; surface vaned, tip broken away. Preserved length 17 cm, max. diameter 5.0 cm.

Both clay cones are inscribed with the same inscription (with minor variants noted in the transliteration below) of Entemena (also read Enmetena), who ruled the city-state Lagash *c.* 2450 B.C. This city-state consisted of the main cities Lagash (Modern al-Hiba) and Girsu (Modern Tello), as well as some other cities. According to our text also the city Badtibira belonged there, at least for some period.

In the publication by H. Steible 40 clay cones (including our two clay cones) inscribed with this text are listed. Two of these clay cones are known to have been excavated in Badtibira (Modern Madain), all the others are without recorded provenance. The inscription deals with the construction by the ruler Entemena of the temple for the goddess Inanna and the god Lugal-Emush. The temple was called Emush; it was situated in the city Badtibira. Our two clay cones together with all the duplicates were probably once placed in the walls of this temple.

Bibliography: A. Haldar, 'Five cuneiform inscriptions in the National Museum of Stockholm', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 10, 1953, 13, No. 1 (reference to our clay cones); E. Sollberger, *Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques des Lagaš*, Genève 1956, Ent. 45–73, esp. Ent. 69–70 (copy of a composite text); E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumeriennes et akkadiennes*, Paris 1971, 71–71, IC7h (translation); H. Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* 1 (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, 5, 1), Wiesbaden 1982, 260–264, Entemena 45–73 (transliteration and translation); J.S. Cooper, *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions*, I, *Presargonic Inscriptions*, New Haven, Conn. 1986, 58, La 5.3 (translation).
Transliteration (according to NM 2089, variants according to MM 1977:11):
Col. I 1) ^{d}inanna-ra 2) ^{d}lugal-é-mùš-ra 3) en-te-me-na 4) énsi 5) lagaš^{ki}-ke$_4$ 6) é-mùš é-ki-ág-gá(gá omitted in MM 1977:11)-ne-ne 7) mu-ne-dù 8) KIB mu-ne(NM 2089: na)-dug$_4$ 9) en-te-me-na Col. II 1) (MM 1977:11: 10) lú-é-mùš-dù-a 2) (MM 1977:11: Col. II 1 etc.) dingir-ra-ni 3) ^{d}šul-utul$_{12}$-am$_6$ 4) (MM 1977:11 adds: u$_4$-ba) en-te-me-na 5) énsi 6) lagaš^{ki} 7) lugal-ki-gi$_7$-né-du$_7$-du$_7$ 8) énsi 9) unug^{ki}-ga 10) nam-šeš e-ak
Translation:
For the goddess Inanna and the god Lugal-Emush, Entemena, the ruler of Lagash, built the Emush, their beloved temple, and ordered these clay cones for them. Entemena, who built the Emush, his (personal) god is the god Shulutul. At that time Entemena, ruler of Lagash, and Lugal-kigine-dudu, ruler of Uruk, established brotherhood.

3. Clay cone of Ur-Baba, ruler of Lagash, Békésy 184 (*Figs. 3a–c*)

Békésy 184, well-preserved cone of baked clay with Sumerian inscription. Length 16.5 cm, max. diameter 6.8 cm.

The clay cone is inscribed with an inscription of Ur-Baba, who ruled the city-state Lagash *c.* 2150 B.C. As already noted for the previous clay cones (Nos. 1 and

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Figs. 1a-d. Clay cone of Entemena, NM 2089.

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Figs. 2a-d. Clay cone of Entemena, MM 1977:11.

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Figs. 3a-c. Clay cone of Ur-Baba, Békésy 184.

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2), which are from sites within the same city-state, this city-state consisted of the main cities Lagash (Modern al-Hiba) and Girsu (Modern Tello), as well as some other cities.

In the publication by H. Steible, more than 300 clay cones, two bricks and one pivot stone inscribed with the same text are given. More than 200 of these clay cones are known to have been excavated in the city Girsu (Modern Tello), the others are without recorded provenance. The inscription deals with the construction by the ruler Ur-Baba of the temple for the god Ningirsu. The temple was called Eninnu, or 'the white Anzu-bird', and was situated in the city Girsu. All these clay cones were probably once placed in the walls of this temple.

Bibliography: Duplicates of this text have been published previously: F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 1), Leipzig 1907, 62–63, I 12 d: Ton-Nagel B (transliteration and translation); H. Steible, *Die Neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* 1 (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, 9, 1), Stuttgart 1991, 145–147, Urbaba 7 (transliteration and translation).

Transliteration:

Col. I 1) ^{d}nin-gír-su 2) ur-sag kala-ga 3) ^{d}en-líl-lá-ra 4) ur-^{d}ba-ba$_{6}$ 5) énsi 6) lagaš^{ki} 7) dumu-tu-da 8) ^{d}nin-á-gal-ka-ke$_{4}$ Col. II 1) níg-du$_{7}$-e pa mu-na-è 2) é-ninnu ánzu^{mušen}-bar$_{6}$-bar$_{6}$-ra-ni 3) mu-na-dù 4) ki-bi mu-na-gi$_{4}$

Translation:

For the god Ningirsu, strong warrior of Enlil, Ur-Baba, the ruler of Lagash, son of Ninagal, made the proper thing resplendent, and built his Eninnu, the white Anzu-bird, and returned its place to him.

4. Clay cone of Gudea, ruler of Lagash, MM 1961:20 (*Figs. 4a–c*)

MM 1961:20, cone of baked clay with Sumerian inscription. Length 14.5 cm, max. diameter 6.5 cm.

The clay cone is inscribed with an inscription of Gudea, who ruled the city-state Lagash *c.* 2100 B.C. As already noted for the previous clay cones (Nos. 1, 2 and 3), which are from sites within the same city-state, this city-state consisted of the main cities Lagash (Modern al-Hiba) and Girsu (Modern Tello), as well as some other cities.

In the publication by H. Steible, about 124 other clay cones, and 7 bricks with the same text are given. At least 69 of these clay cones and four of the bricks are known to have been excavated in the city Girsu (Modern Tello), but one clay cone is recorded as being from Uruk; all the others are without recorded provenance. The inscription deals with the construction by the ruler Gudea of the temple for the god Nindara in the city Girsu. All these clay cones were probably made in order to be placed in the walls of this temple.

Bibliography: Duplicates of this text have been published previously: F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 1), Leipzig 1907, 140–141, I 16 o: Backstein A (transliteration and translation); H. Steible, *Die Neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* 1 (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, 9, 1), Stuttgart 1991, 287–289, Gudea 36 (transliteration and translation).

Transliteration:

1) ^{d}nin-dar-ra 2) lugal uru$_{16}$ 3) lugal-a-ni 4) gù-dé-a 5) énsi 6) lagaš^{ki}-ke$_{4}$ 7) é-gír-sú^{ki}-ka-ni 8) mu-na-dù

Translation:

For the god Nindara, powerful king, his king, Gudea, the ruler of Lagash, built his (=Nindara's) temple in Girsu.

5. Clay cone of Shulgi, king of Ur, Acc. 997 (*Figs. 5a–c*)

Acc. 997, cone of baked clay with Sumerian inscription; tip of the cone broken away. Preserved length 9.3 cm (originally perhaps ca 13 cm), max. diameter 7.1 cm.

The clay cone is inscribed with an inscription of Shulgi, the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2094–2047 B.C.).

In the publication by H. Steible, about 47 other clay cones and 7 bricks with the same text are given. Two, possibly seven, of these clay cones are known to have been excavated in the city Girsu (modern Tello), but one is recorded as being from Uruk; all the others are without recorded provenance. The inscription deals with the construction by Shulgi, king of Ur, of the temple for the goddess Nanshe in the city Girsu. The temple was called Esheshsheshegarra. All these clay cones were probably once placed in the walls of this temple.

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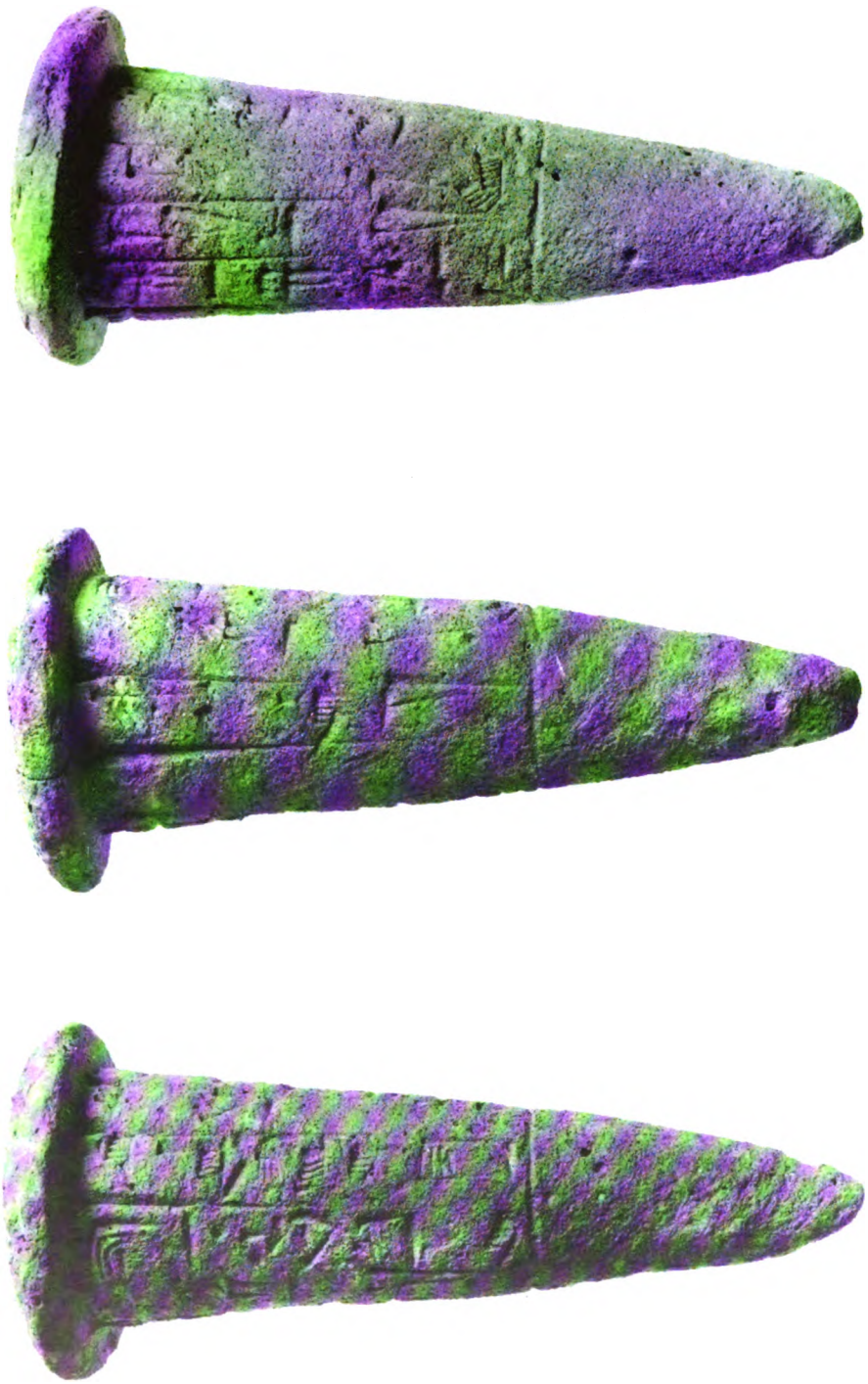

Figs. 4a-c. Clay cone of Gudea, MM 1961:20.

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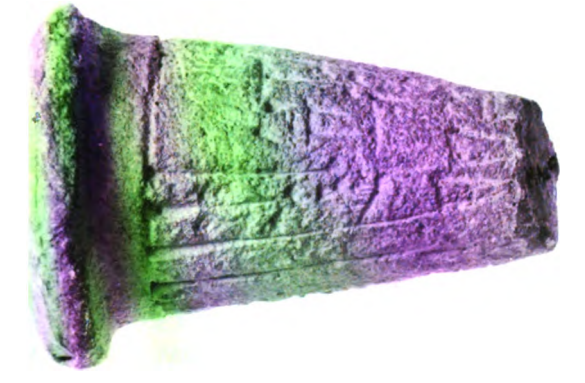

Figs. 5a-c. Clay cone of Shulgi, Acc. 997.

Bibliography: Duplicates of this text have been published by H. Steible, *Die Neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* 2 (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, 9, 2), Stuttgart 1991, 174–177, Šulgi 22 (transliteration and translation).

Transliteration:

1) ^{d}nan[še] 2) nin in-dub-b[a] 3) nin-a-ni 4) šul-gi 5) nita kala-ga 6) lugal urí^{ki}-ma 7) é-šeš-šeš-e[(-gar?-ra?)]-ka-ni 8) mu-na-dù

Translation:

For the goddess Nanshe, the lady of the delimited area, his lady, Shulgi, the strong man, king of Ur, built her Esheshsheshegarra.

6. Lapis-lazuli tablet of Amar-Suen, king of Ur, MM 1957:4 (*Figs. 6a-d, 7*)

MM 1957:4, tablet of lapis-lazuli, with Sumerian inscription, secondarily pierced for hanging. Height 4.5 cm, width 2.3 cm, and max. thickness 1.5 cm.

The lapis-lazuli tablet is inscribed with an inscription of Amar-Suen, the third king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2046–2038 B.C.). The hand copy published here stems from an anonymous colleague, who possibly in 1957 visited Medelhavsmuseet, copied three cuneiform texts and transliterated four. Because several details, including the name of the author, were missing, the manuscript was not possible to publish.

In the publication by H. Steible, 5 other stone tablets with the same text are listed. For none of them is there any known provenance. The inscription describes how Amar-Suen, king of Ur, constructed a building called Gipar in the town Karzida outside the city Ur. The Gipar was the residence of the en-priestess Enagazianna of the moon-god Nanna. Another Gipar was situated in the center of the city Ur.

For three of the published duplicates, it has sometimes been suggested that they may be modern fakes. The same may also be assumed for MM 1957:4, because of the many words and even signs, which are divided on two lines. However, these indications of bad writings do not necessarily prove that it is a fake, and it cannot be excluded that all exemplars are ancient. Those tablets, which are authentic, were possibly once in principle placed in the walls of the Gipar, or in connexion with this building. Our tablet, however, seems to have been secondarily pierced for hanging. Therefore the tablet

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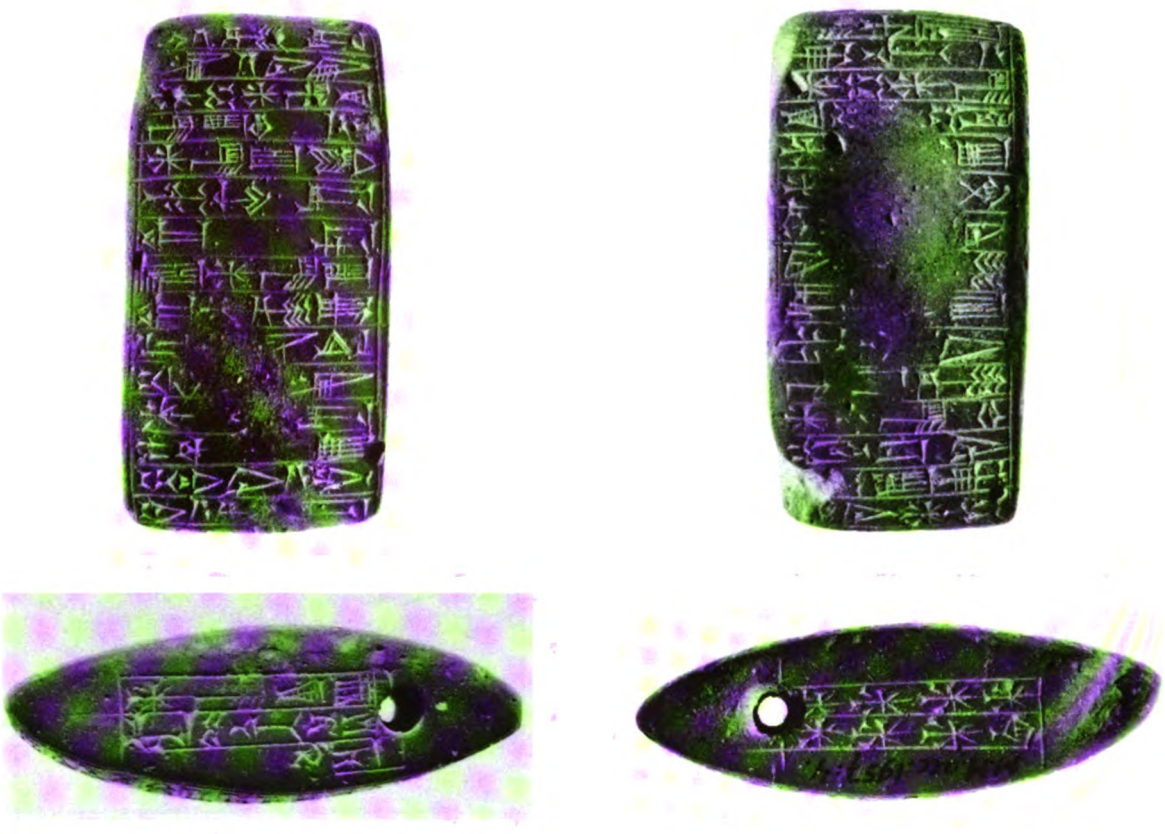

Figs. 6a-d. Lapis-lazuli tablet of Amar-Suen, MM 1957:4.

may at a later stadge have functioned as an amulet, if it is ancient.

Bibliography: Duplicates of this text have been published previously: F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 1), Leipzig 1907, 200–201, XX A 3 i: Steintafel B (transliteration and translation); H. Steible, *Die Neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* 2 (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, 9, 2), Stuttgart 1991, 231–234, Amar-Suen 8 (transliteration and translation).

Transliteration:

1) [^{d}nann]a 2) kar-zi-da 3) lugal-a-ni-ir 4) ^{d}amar-^{d}EN.ZU 5) nibru^{ki}-a 6) ^{d}en-líl-le 7) mu-pà-da 8) sag-uš 9) é-^{d}en-líl- 10) ka!(SAG) dingir-zi-kalam!(E)- 11) ma [lu]gal-ŠEŠ- 12) AB^{ki}(urí)-[ma l]ugal 13) an-u[b]-da- 14) limmu-ba-ke$_4$ 15) u$_4$-ul-lí-a-ta 16) kar-zi-da 17) gi$_6$-par$_4$ n[u-dù] 18) [e]n nu-un(last part of sign on next line)- 19) ti-a 20) ^{d}amar-^{d}EN. 21) ZU dumu-ki-ág 22) ^{d}[nann]a-ke$_4$ 23) ^{d}[nan]na 24) ki-á[g-gá]-ni- 25) ir [kar-z]i- 26) da[(-a) gi$_6$-par$_4$ 27) mu-na-dù 28) en-àga-zi- 29) an-na en-ki- 30) ág-gá?-ni 31) [m]u-un- 32) [n]a-ni<-in-ku$_4$> ^{d}amar- 33) ^{d}EN.ZU-ke$_4$ 34) nam-ti íb- 35) sud-du 36) AN.AN.AN.AN. 37) AN.AN.AN.NA

Translation:

For the god Nanna of (the town) Karzida, his king, Amar-Suen, whose name the god Enlil mentioned in Nippur, provider of the temple of the god Enlil, righteous god of the land, king of Ur, king of the four horizons – from the past there was no Gipar(-building) in (the town) Karzida, no *en*-priestess lived (there) – Amar-Suen, the beloved son of the god Nanna, built for his beloved god Nanna at (the town) Karzida the Gipar(-building). Enagazianna, his (=the god Nanna's) beloved *en*-priestess, he let <enter> to him (=the god Nanna). (Therefore) Amar-Suen may have a long life.

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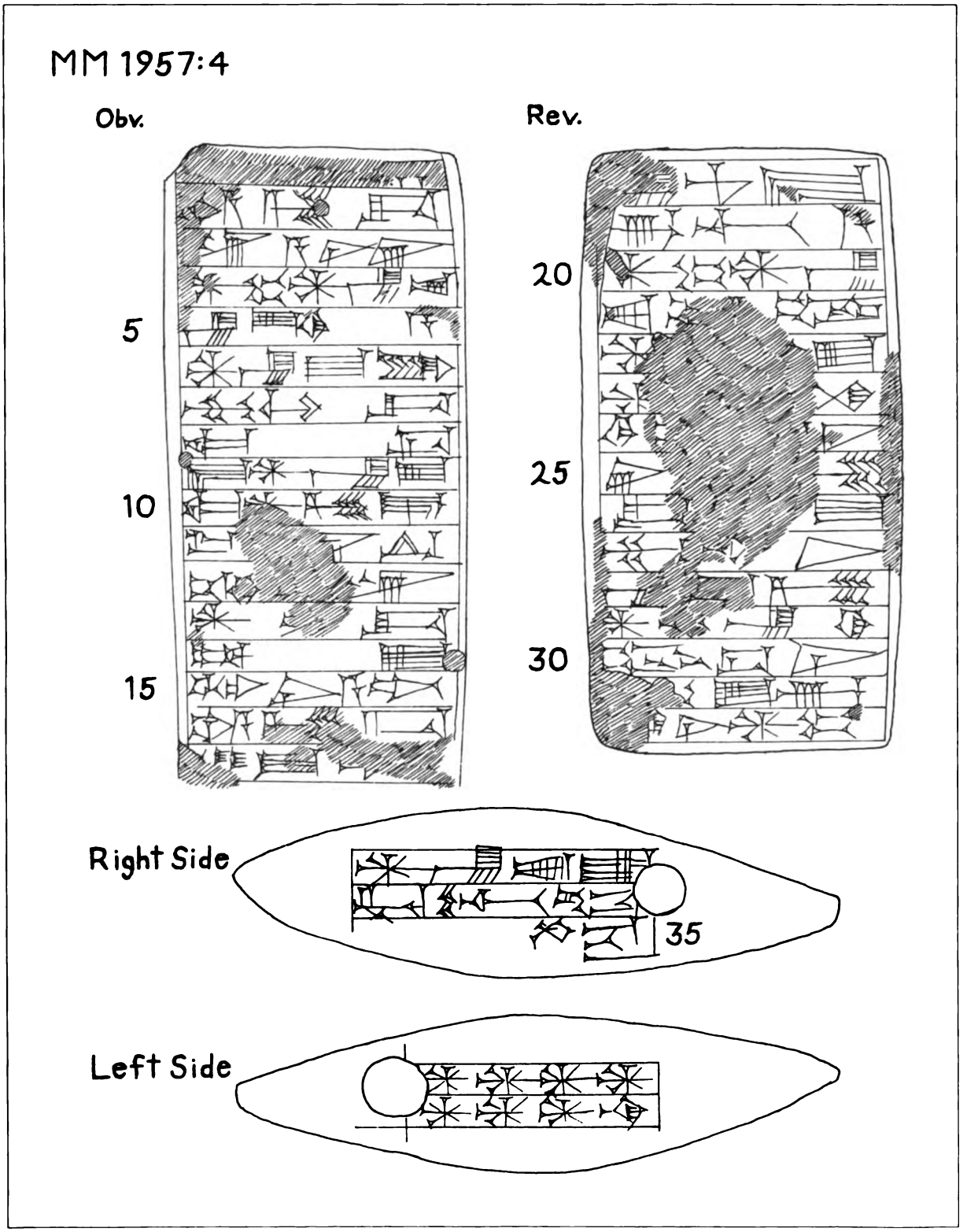

Fig. 7. Lapis-lazuli tablet of Amar-Suen, MM 1957:4. Copy by anonymous.

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7. Fragment of a basalt stone statue of Iddin-Dagan, king of Isin, MM 1974:26

MM 1974:26, fragment of a statue of basalt, with Sumerian inscription. Preserved height 16 cm, preserved width 10.5 cm, and preserved max. thickness 8 cm.

This fragment of a statue is inscribed with an inscription of Iddin-Dagan, the third king of the Dynasty of Isin (1974–1954 B.C.).

The provenance of this now rather small piece of a statue is unknown, but from the inscription it is reasonable to assume that the statue once showed the king Iddin-Dagan, and that it was placed in the temple of the goddess Ninisina in the city Isin (Modern Ishan al-Bahrijat). Despite the previous publication in the *Bulletin*, it is given here without a photo because of two minor corrections of the published transliteration.

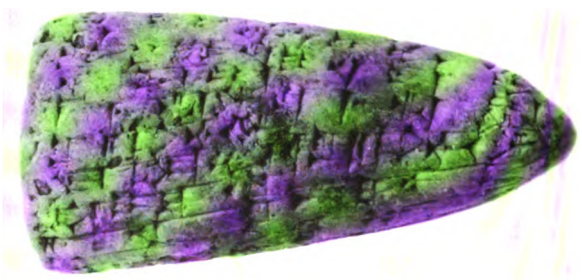
Bibliography: A. Haldar, 'A votive inscription from the reign of Iddin-Dagān', *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 12, 1977, 3–6 (photo, transliteration and translation); D.R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)* (*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods*, 4), Toronto 1990, 22, E4.1.3.1 (transliteration and translation).

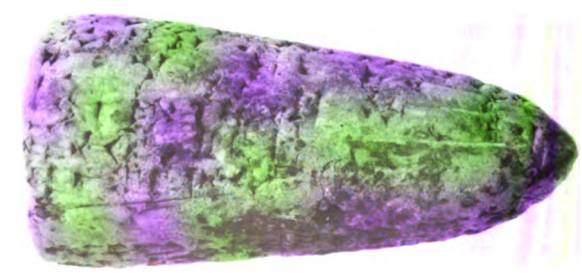
Transliteration:

1) [^{d}nin-in-si]-na 2) nin-a-ni-ir 3) ^{d}i-din-^{d}da-gan 4) lugal-kala-ga 5) lugal-ì-si-in^{ki}-na 6) lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke$_4$ 7) nam-ti-la-ni-šè 8) a mu-na-ru 9) lú á-nì-ḫul-d[ím-ma] Lacuna 1') ^{d}nin-in-si-na 2') nin-mu 3') ^{d}da-mu 4') lugal-mu 5') nam ḫa-ba-an-da-ku$_5$-ru-ne

Translation:

To the goddess [Ninisi]na, his lady, Iddin-Dagan, mighty king, king of Isin, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, dedicated (this statue) for his own life. (As for) the man [who gives] orders [to] do evil [against it . . .], may the goddess Ninisina, my lady, (and) the god Damu, my king, curse [that man].





Figs. 8a-d. Clay cone of Lipit-Ishtar, MM 1977:10.

8. Clay cone of Lipit-Ishtar, king of Isin, MM 1977:10 (*Figs. 8a-d*)

MM 1977:10, rather well-preserved cone of baked clay with an Akkadian inscription. Length 11.2 cm, max. diameter 5.7 cm.

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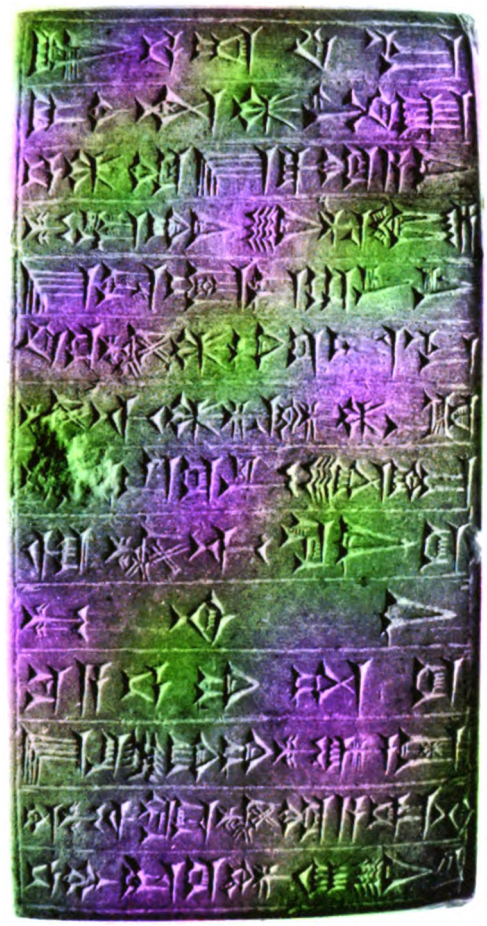

Figs. 9a-b. Limestone tablet of Rim-Sin, NM 2091.

The clay cone is inscribed with an inscription of Lipit-Ishtar, the fifth king of the Dynasty of Isin (1934–1924 B.C.).

In the publication by D.R. Frayne, 58 other clay cones inscribed with the same text are listed. Five of these clay cones were recently excavated by the German expedition to the city Isin, the others are without recorded provenance. The inscription deals with the construction by Lipit-Ishtar of a pair of pot stands at the gate of the palace. All these clay cones were probably once placed in the walls of this gate of the palace in Isin.

Bibliography: Duplicates of this text have been published previously: E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumeriennes et akkadiennes*, Paris 1971, 176, IVA5b (translation); I. Kärki, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften der altbabylonischen Zeit*, I. *Isin, Larsa, Uruk* (Studia Orientalia 49), Helsinki 1980, 19–20, Lipiteštar 5 (transliteration and translation); D.R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)* (*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods*, 4), Toronto 1990, 49–51, E4.1.5.3 (transliteration and translation).

Transliteration:

Col. I 1) ^{d}*li-pí-it-iš$_{8}$-tár* 2) *re-i-um* 3) *pa-li-iḫ* 4) *nippur* (EN.LÍL^{ki}) 5) *i-ka-ru-um* 6) *ki-nu-um* 7) *ša úri^{ki}-im* 8) *la mu-pa-ar-ki-um* 9) *a-na eridu^{ki}* 10) EN-*um* 11) *sí-ma-at* 12) *uruk^{ki}* 13) *šar ì-sí-in^{ki}* 14) *šar ma-at* 15) *šu-me-ri-im* 16) *ù a-kà-dì-im* 17) *bí-bí-il* 18) *li-i-ba iš$_{8}$-tár* 19) *a-na-ku* 20) *kà-ni-in* 21) *bí-bí-il* 22) *i-di*^{d}EN.LÍL

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23) *ù* ^{d}NIN.LÍL-*ti-im* Col. II 1) *i-na ì-si-in*^{ki} 2) *a-al šar-ru-ti-ia* 3) *i-na ba-ab* É.GAL-*im* 4) ^{d}*li-pí-it-iš$_{8}$-tár* 5) *ma-ru* ^{d}EN.LÍL 6) *a-na-ku* 7) *i-nu-mi* 8) *ki-i-ta-am* 9) *i-na ma-at* 10) *šu-me-ri-im* 11) *ù a-kà-dì-im* 12) *aš-ku-nu-ni* 13) *e-pu-uš*

Translation:

I, Lipit-Ishtar, the humble shepherd of Nippur, true farmer of Ur, unceasing (provider) for Eridu, lord suitable for Uruk, king of Isin, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, favourite of the goddess Ishtar, fashioned a pair of pot stands, a gift (for) the arms of the gods Enlil and Ninlil, in Isin, the city of my kingship, at the palace gate, when I, Lipit-Ishtar, son of the god Enlil, had established justice in the land of Sumer and Akkad.

9. Limestone tablet of the wife of Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, NM 2091 (*Figs. 9a-b*)

NM 2091, limestone tablet with a Sumerian inscription; upper 2/3 of the obverse is destroyed. Max. height 12.4 cm, max. width 6.5 cm, and max. thickness 2.5 cm.

The stone tablet is inscribed with an inscription of the wife of Rim-Sin, the last king of the Dynasty of Larsa (1822–1763 B.C.).

In the publication by D.R. Frayne, 2 other stone tablets and 2 metal tablets inscribed with the same text are given. None of the objects with this inscription have a known provenance. The text concerns the building of a temple for the goddess Ninegal by Simat-Ishtar, wife of Rim-Sin, king of Larsa. The stone and metal tablets were probably once placed in the walls of this temple in the city Larsa (Modern Sinkara).

Bibliography: A. Haldar, 'Five Cuneiform Inscriptions in the National Museum of Stockholm', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 10, 1953, 13, No. 2 (reference to our stone tablet); I. Kärki, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften der altbabylonischen Zeit*, I. *Isin, Larsa, Uruk* (Studia Orientalia 49), Helsinki 1980, 147–148, Rīmsîn 6 (transliteration and translation); D.R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)* (*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods*, 4), Toronto 1990, 293–294, E4.2.14.16.4 (transliteration and translation).

Transliteration:

1) [^{d}nin-é-gal 2) nin-gal me-kìlib šu-na dab$_{5}$-bé 3) un-šár-ra-aš igi-bi gál 4) na-ri-maḫ šita$_{5}$-dù-sag-gi$_{6}$ 5) a-rá-bi zà nu-di 6) nin-gál ukkin-na du$_{11}$-ga-ni igi-šè du 7) mu-ni a-re-eš gi$_{7}$] 8) d[ingir-zi ki-a-a-ugu-ni-ta] 9) k[a-ba-ni še-ga] 10) dumu-gal-^{d}EN.[ZU-n]a 11) nin-a-ni-ir 12) si-ma-at-^{d}inanna 13) dam ki-ág 14) ^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU 15) lugal-larsa^{ki}-ma 16) dumu-mí ìr-^{d}nanna-ke$_{4}$ 17) u$_{4}$ ^{d}nin-é-gal nin-a-ni 18) mu-sa$_{6}$-ga-ni in-sa$_{4}$-a 19) é-á-ág-gá-kìlib-ùr-ùr 20) ki-tuš nam-dingir-bi-šè túm-ma 21) nam-ti-^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU 22) u$_{4}$-da-rí-šè gál-le-dè 23) ù nam-ti-la-ni-šè 24) mu-na-dù 25) diri-u$_{4}$-bi-ta-šè 26) é-šu-sì-ga-bi mu-un-dagal 27) temen-mu-pà-da-nam-nin-a-ka-na 28) u$_{4}$-su$_{13}$-rá-šè im-mi-in-gar

Translation:

[For the goddess Ninegal, great lady, who holds all the divine powers in her hand, who looks at the numerous people, supreme adviser who looks after the black-headed people, whose ways are not rivalled, aristocrat, whose words excels in the assembly, whose name is noble (enough) for praise, reliable goddess from (her) father who engendered her, whose utterance is favourable,] great daughter of the god Sin, her lady, Simat-Ishtar, beloved spouse of Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, daughter of Warad-Nanna – when the goddess Ninegal, her lady, called her good name – built (the temple) Eaagakiliburur, the residence suitable for her divinity, to establish the life of Rim-Sin forever and for her own life. She enlarged its Eshusiga more than it had been previously. She placed there for the future her foundation inscription proclaiming her queenly name.

Olof Pedersén
University of Uppsala
Department of Asian and African Languages
Box 513
S-751 20 Uppsala

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Two Canopic Lids Illustrating Different Tendencies in Egyptian Art

Ingegerd Lindblad

In the following pages I shall examine and describe in detail two human-headed canopic lids in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm. The first piece is so far published in Swedish[1] and the second is unpublished.

In connection with mummification of the body the Egyptians removed the viscera for individual embalming and to be placed in four containers called canopic jars. The earliest known examples date to the Old Kingdom and have low, slightly convex lids. In the First Intermediate Period the lids became human-headed and in the early Middle Kingdom the viscera were placed under the protection of the sons of Horus, Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef. The earliest known examples in which the lids vary in form according to the particular genius with whom each jar is associated are from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. After the Late Eighteenth Dynasty the lids are generally shaped like these four minor gods, i. e. three of them are in animal form. Canopic jars could be made of stone, cartonnage, pottery, faience or wood. Early examples were often made in stone with painted wooden lids.[2]

Canopic human-headed lid MM 19255 (*Figs. 1–5*)

The head originates from the Gayer-Anderson Collection.[3] On the bottom of the piece, Gayer-Anderson has noted the provenance as Luxor in Egypt. The material is wood, originally painted in polychrome on top of a layer of plaster. The max. height is 15 cm and the max. width is 14 cm.

The head is well preserved apart from a scar on the forehead, rubbed tip of the nose and lips and a partly damaged chin. The whole piece was originally covered by plaster. Preserved parts on the face and neck are yellowish. There are traces of blue colour on the hairdress. Black colour marked the rim of the eyelids and the inner corner of the eyes are heightened by red colour.

The head held in an uplifted position is covered by a wig that is rather flat on top, voluminous at the sides and cut straight off below in order to fit to the canopic jar. The face is triangular with protruding yokebones. The forehead is markedly recessive. Both jaws are situated well in front of the root of the nose, the lower about in line with the upper one. The maximum protrusion of the cheek in three-quarter profile is at the level of the yokebone. The base of the chin runs horizontally towards the long neck. There are shallow depressions all along below the eyes.

The eyes are large, wide-opened and positioned rather horizontally and widely apart. The upper contour of the eye runs in a wide even arch; the lower contour is rather horizontal. The inner canthi are plastically clearly executed. The rim of the upper eyelid is modelled in relief, the lower is plain. There is a deep incision running all along the upper eyelid, more pronounced towards the inner canthi, making them jut ahead of the superciliary arches. The plastically modelled superciliary arches run in a faint curve above the eyes, turning sharply downwards towards the outer canthi.

The long nose, which is narrow at the root, is about as wide below as the distance between the eyes. It was straight or, possibly, faintly bent. The aleas are plastically distinctly indicated and the septum is thick. The plastically modelled philtrum has a pronounced jutting shape in profile.

The full-lipped mouth is somewhat broader than the nose and positioned more on the right side of the face. The upper lip is thicker and shows a pointed Cupid's

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Fig. 1. MM 19255.

bow. The lips diminish in thickness towards the deep corners, where the surrounding flesh is distinctly plastically modelled.

The protruding ears are of medium size, rather flat and anatomically positioned correctly in relation to the eyes.

The fragile structure of the triangular face is underlined by the large, wide-opened eyes and the surrounding masses of hair. The shadows created at the orbital area by the deep incisions below the superciliary arches render the face an expression of seriousness tinged with sadness. The content is emphasized as opposed to form. The form is here still carrying the content, though. The stress on content in the Egyptian art is carried to its extreme in a both elegant and ingenious fashion in the New Kingdom. In the Amarna period, sculptured images were produced, where the form is reduced to a thin veil barely covering, not carrying the content.[4] This occured after and, perhaps, as a consequence of an "expressionistic" development in the art that took place earlier in the same period superbly illustrated by the colossi of Akhenaten found in Karnak, where the form is not to be separated by the content expressed.[5] However, the extensiveness of breaking up the form as opposed to content occuring in the Amarna period, has not yet taken place in the period that produced the head under discussion. Such a development is rather foreboded here. Also the formal language could be interpreted here as a result of an "expressionistic" development of the art that occurs in the Middle Kingdom, reaching its peak in the imposing statues of Sesostris III.[6] The king succeeding him, Amenemhet III, is represented by sculptures that are less dynamic and expressionistic. The eyes become larger, the structure of the face more fragile, and the expression is no longer concentrated on the surface but comes more from within, below the calm surface.[7]

The head discussed fits very well in this formal pattern. Looking at the royal sculpture of the time, there is particularly one head that is parallel to the facial shape and the modelling of the orbital area and forehead.[8] Also the specific prominent position of the jaws in relation to the root of the nose as found on the canopic head is rare in Egyptian sculpture, but typical for this period in the Middle Kingdom.[9] The contemporary private sculpture presents some related pieces, stylistically speaking, for example CG 42207,[10] Berlin 15700,[11] Berlin 4435,[12] Louvre E.11053,[13] and Brooklyn 62.77.1.[14]

The canopic head was likely modelled towards the end of the reign of Amenemhet III, either for a man or a woman. The canopic lid in the shape of a human head from the Middle Kingdom identified the deceased with one of the sons of Horus and has a yellowish colour of the skin, normally connected with a female. However, for this period the colour is not a clue to the sex of the owner of the canopic jar.[15] In the Metropolitan Museum there is a set of canopic jars, though dated to the early twelfth Dynasty, with human headed lids of wood covered with painted stucco that might illustrate a complete set of the Middle Kingdom.[16]

Canopic jar with human-headed lid MM 15732 (*Figs. 6–14*)

The object was acquired by the Museum of National Antiquities as a gift from Mr. J. Hedenborg in the 1830's and integrated in the Museum's "Comparative Collection"[17] later transferred to the Medelhavsmuseet. Both jar and lid are of pottery, turned on the wheel. The face is modelled separately by hand. The max. height of the jar is 28,5 cm. The max. height of the lid is 10,5 cm and the max. width 12 cm.

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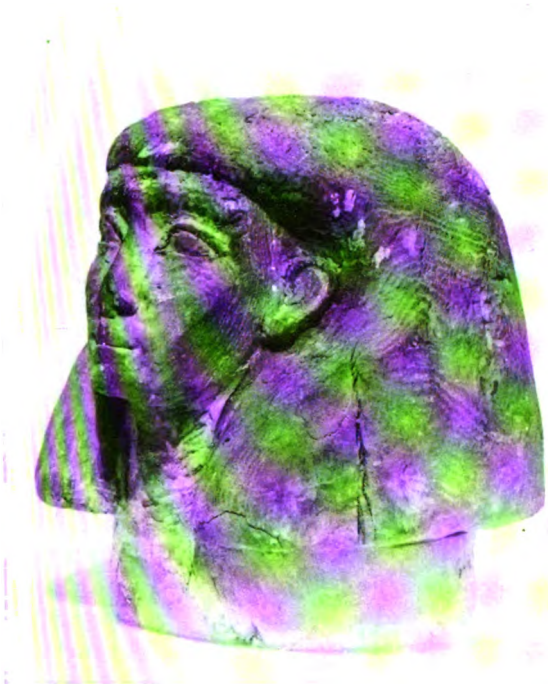

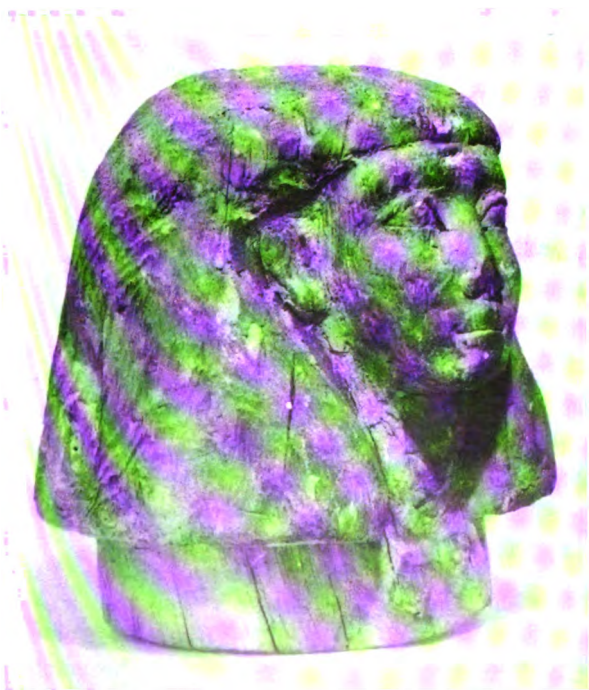

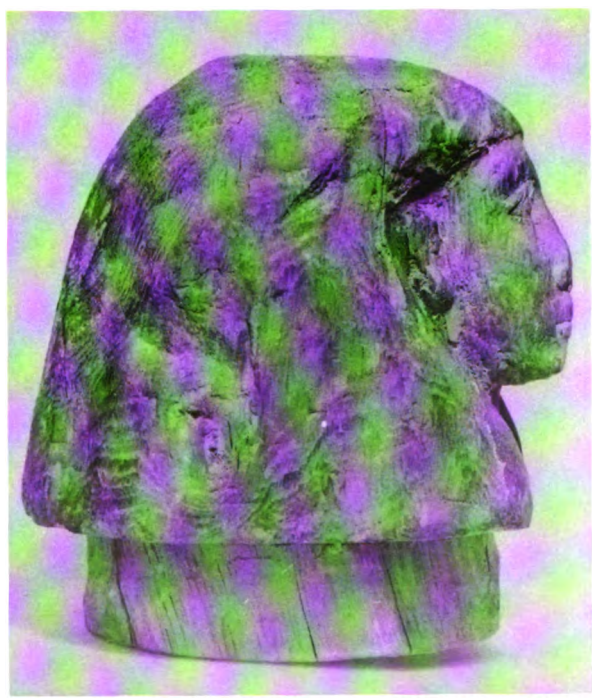

Figs. 2–5. MM 19255.

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The lid is well-preserved apart from the break on top and lesser damages on the surface. It is covered by a reddish slip. Wig, eyes, eyebrows and necklace are rendered in black paint. On the bottom there is a distinct circular marking in black, perhaps a potters mark (*Fig. 13*). The badly broken jar is restored out of many pieces; two pieces are modern. The bottom is lacking. Parts are still covered by the original reddish slip. On the body of the jar at the front there is a now very fragmentary inscription that runs in four vertical columns divided by lines and facing right (*Fig. 14*). The inscription is in black paint and the only clearly visible sign is a *nwb*-sign in the last column. It seems to be followed by the name of the owner and the word "justified".

Fig. 6. MM 15732.

The depicted male is holding his head in an uplifted position. The wig is striped in black paint and hair patches in front of the ears are marked in black as well. The necklace consists of four rows, separated by single lines. The upper rows consist of bars, the lower of drops.

The face is U-shaped with evenly rounded cheeks. The flat forehead is receding. The chin is rounded in profile as well as en face. The base of the chin descends towards the neck. Both jaws are placed in front of the root of the nose, the lower behind the upper one. The maximum protrusion of the cheek in three-quarter profile is right above the level of the wing of the nose.

The large, almond-shaped eyes are horizontally positioned. The large irises are rendered in black paint. The rim of the upper eyelids are executed in thin relief and additionally painted in black, the lower are exclusively painted in black. The eyeballs are flattish; there is a deep depression at the inner canthi, though. The black-painted and incised eyebrows run horizontally above the eyes, descending sharply at the temples parallel to the cosmetic lines.

The nose is straightish with an upturned tip and is broader than the distance between the eyes. The wings of the nose are clearly plastically modelled and so is the philtrum, which has a concave jutting shape in profile.

The faintly smiling mouth is broader than the nose. The lower lip diminishes in thickness towards the corners, the upper one end in rounded depressions at the corners. The Cupid's bow is pointed.

The small, anatomically highly situated ears are well-modelled.

The face is modelled in a "classical" tradition.[18] The horizontally positioned eyes and eyebrows, the well-proportioned nose and mouth are set in a neutral U-shaped face. The mouth shows a smile, normally connected with this type in Egyptian art. This schematic type stressing form as opposed to content, is foreshadowed, in a crude fashion, already in the Old Kingdom in the sculpture of Pepi I.[19] It matures in the Middle Kingdom as seen in the sculpture of Amenemhet I and Sesostris I and re-appears in the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is most prevalent in the reigns of Tuthmose I and Tuthmose II and in the reigns of Tuthmose III and Amenhotep II. Also in the Late Period this type recurs in an almost manneristic fashion.[20] The human-headed lid discussed is to be dated in this tradition in the Eighteenth Dynasty, likely in the reign of Amenhotep II. Cairo JE 39394, representing this king, is a good stylistical parallel.[21] As for the private sculpture of the

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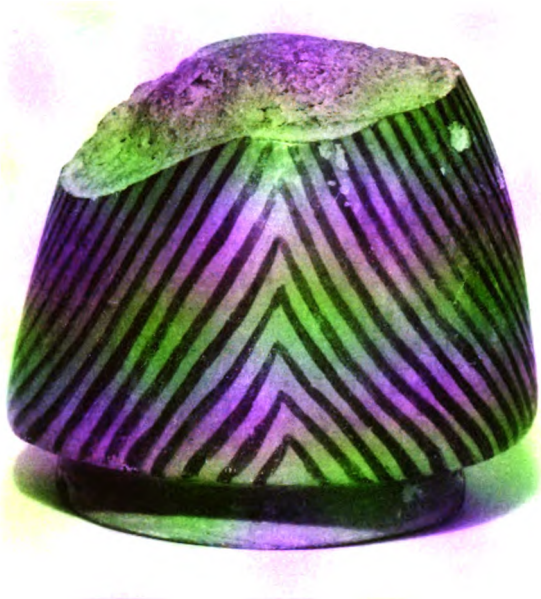

Figs. 7–10. MM 15732.

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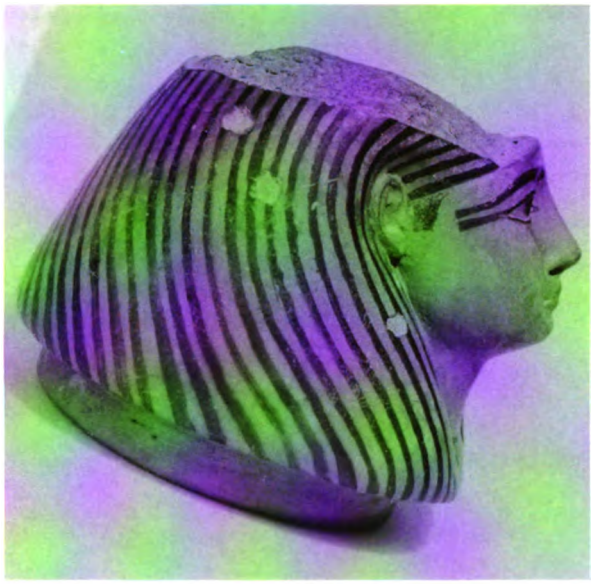

Figs. 11–12. MM 15732.

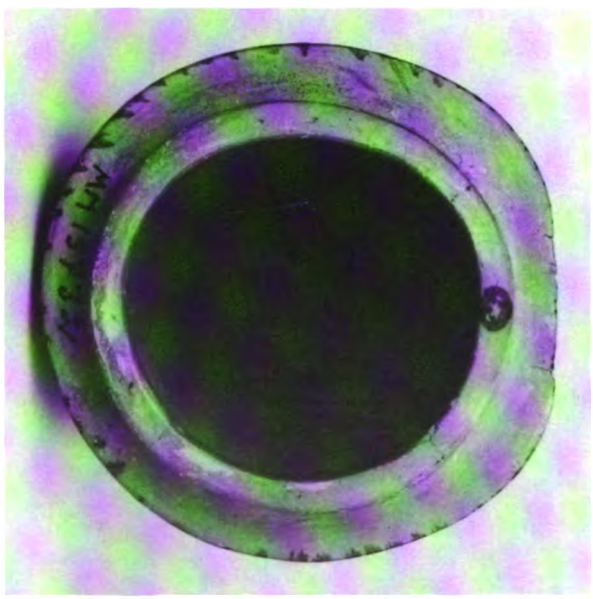

Fig. 13. MM 15732.

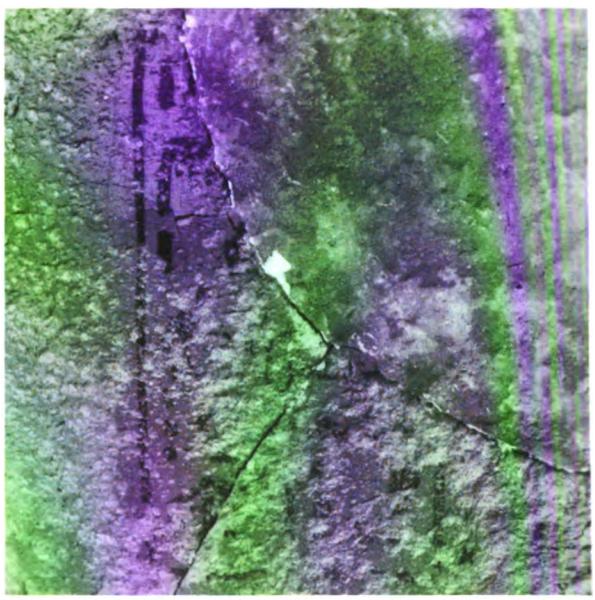

Fig. 14. MM 15732.

time, Sennefer and his wife, Cairo CG 42126, is a fine example of the schematic type.[22] Moving on to the "minor art", specifically canopic jars, there is a very close parallel in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (*Fig. 15*).[23] It is an idealised representation of a deceased scribe and is dated by Janine Bourriau to 1490–1402 B.C.

Thus the occurrence of different formal patterns in Egyptian art, royal or private, is here reflected in "minor art" irrelevant of size or function.

Ingegerd Lindblad
Egyptian Department
Medelhavsmuseet

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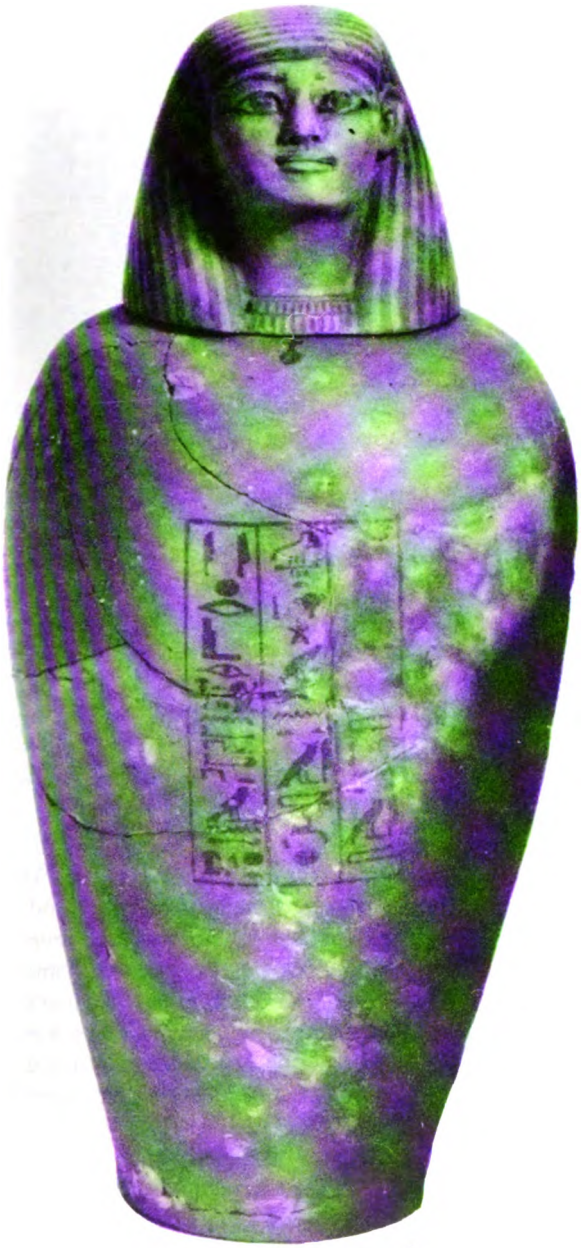

Fig. 15. Canopic jar in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (E. 17. 1950). From J. Bourriau, Umm El-Ga'ab pottery from the Nile valley before the Arab conquest, Cambridge 1981, fig. 227.

[1] *Medelhavsmuseet – en introduktion*, Stockholm 1982, 40f.
[2] *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 316–320 (Kanopen II).
[3] It was part of the collection transferred to Stockholm after the death of major R. G. Gayer-Anderson in 1945. W. R. Dawson & E. P. Uphill, *Who was who in egyptology*, 2nd ed., London 1972, 115; R. G. Gayer-Anderson, *Christeros and other poems*, Shrewsbury 1948.
[4] See for example B. Peterson: 'Two royal heads from Amarna', *MedMusB* 4, 1964, figs. 10–13.
[5] C. Aldred, *New Kingdom art in ancient Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1590–1315 B.* C., London 1951, figs. 102–104.
[6] H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, München 1929, Taf. 83–85.
[7] I. Lindblad, 'Three private statuettes from the Middle Kingdom at Stockholm', *MedMusB* 23, 1988, 16 with references.
[8] Evers (supra n. 6), Taf. 101.
[9] Lindblad (supra n.7), 19.
[10] M. G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Caire*, Cairo 1906, pl. 14.
[11] J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III. *Les grandes époque, la statuaire* 2, Paris 1958, pl. 88:2.
[12] Evers (supra n. 6), Taf. 95.
[13] Vandier (supra n. 11), pl. 73:2.
[14] *Brief guide to the department of Egyptian and Classical art*, The Brooklyn Museum, New York 1974, 40f.
[15] See supra n. 2.
[16] W. C. Hayes, *The scepter of Egypt 2*, Cambridge Mass. 1959, fig. 211.
[17] Ö. Wikander, 'The Comparative Collection. Early antique collecting in Sweden', *MedMusB* 16, 1981, 47–57.
[18] I. Lindblad, *Royal sculpture of the early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt* (MedMusM, 5), Stockholm 1984, 69.
[19] Vandier (supra n. 11), pl. 8:3.
[20] Lindblad (supra n. 18), 69 with references.
[21] *Götter Pharaonen* (ed. D. Wildung), Mainz 1978, 27.
[22] E. L. B. Terrace and H. G. Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian art from the Cairo Museum*, London 1970, 114f.
[23] J. Bourriau, *Umm El-Ga'ab pottery from the Nile valley before the Arab conquest*, Cambridge 1981, fig. 227.

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All That Glitters Is Not Gold

Carole Gillis

When Axel W. Persson and Otto Frödin in 1930 had completed five excavation campaigns on the site of Asine on the coast near the modern fishing village of Tolon, near Nauplion in the Argolid, they had evidence of settlement and burials ranging from the Early Helladic Bronze Age down through Hellenistic times plus remains of a Roman bath. Among the Mycenean remains, eight large chamber tombs (six with finds, one empty and one unfinished) in two necropolises on the Barbouna hill opposite the acropolis were excavated (*Fig. 1*). It is possible that they might have been a bit perplexed at the time at the results of the chamber tomb excavations. While the graves had rich finds in gold and other precious metals, stone vessels, faience, ivory, seals, semi-precious stones and so on, the pottery for the most was unexceptional, and a good percentage of it was undecorated. Further, many of the plain-ware vessels were spotted with a sort of black or gray incrustation. While the clay finds were perhaps representative of the various ceramic periods, they by no means measured up to the degree of status and wealth exhibited by the tomb form itself and the non-ceramic grave gifts.

The contents of all the excavated tombs from Necropolis I and II with finds, i.e. Chamber Tombs I:1, I:2, I:5, I:6, I:7 and II:1, were stored in the Museum at Nauplion, some of the finds having been on study-loan in Sweden first. However, "..a considerable part of the finds..."[1] of Chamber Tomb I:1 including the bulk of the pottery was given to Sweden and was sent to Stockholm presumably in the 1930's. The non-ceramic finds are not mentioned specifically but it is assumed that as they are not in Stockholm, they remained in Greece and were lost during the Second World War along with many other treasures. The pottery transferred to Sweden is on permanent exhibit in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm (*Fig. 2*).

Due undoubtedly to the energy expenditure necessary to dig the long passage (the *dromos*) in to the chamber and the chamber itself and to support the earthen walls with cut stone blocks, the tradition of burying the dead in chamber tombs was restricted to the upper levels of the society. This is further evidenced by the wealth of the grave goods and by the comparison with the simple, contemporary children's graves from Asine's lower town area which were usually earth-cut with few or no grave goods. There does not seem to be any other contemporary grave evidence except for four as yet unpublished graves from the Levendis area on the slopes of the Barbouna hill which might have been Late Helladic.[2]

Despite the labor involved, Asine Chamber Tomb I:1 had two *dromoi*, one earlier and one later (*Fig. 3*). This quite unusual occurrence was explained by Frödin[3] after careful analysis of the stratigraphies of the *dromoi* and their finds. He found that the door to the chamber at the end of the original, northern *dromos* became too unsafe after many years of use and the *dromos* was filled in. Another, the southern, *dromos* was then dug during the end of the Mycenean period, to provide continued access to the chamber.

It would seem fairly clear that the chamber tomb was a family vault, used by generation after generation of the same or related family, which by extension seems to imply a rather firmly entrenched aristocracy within the society. Although Frödin mentions that "..the remains of at least 6 or 7 skeletons.." were found, the bones were in "...fragmentary condition and were lying about in the greatest disorder."[4] Thus no conclusions regarding age or sex were possible.

In the publication Persson lists the following non-ceramic finds from Chamber Tomb I:1:[5]

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Fig. 1. A view of the Barbouna Hill and the seven excavated chamber tombs in Necropolis I (from *Asine* I, fig. 133).

Gold:	two rings, both with scenes of bulls and bull-leapers; other objects such as pins, beads, spirals, rosettes
Silver:	an oxidized vase
Iron:	fragments of a ring
Stone:	agate and cornelian gems, with bulls represented on most; steatite buttons
Faience:	beads
Ivory, bone:	pins, rosettes, part of a small, decorated ivory column, pieces of wild boar's tusks
Amber:	beads

These finds are indicative of both male and female burials. The boar's tusk fragments were part of a helmet,[6] clearly belonging to a warrior. The absence of weapons is surprising, but not unique – only in Chamber Tomb I:2 were any found, and only bronze spearheads. The abundance of necklaces seems to indicate female burials as well. There can be no doubt that the type and variety of grave goods indicate aristocratic burials of both sexes.

How does the pottery fit into the picture of rank and status indicated by the type of grave structure and the grave gifts? In the catalogue[7] 75 vessels are described. Of these, three (nos. 1, 2 and 3) are known to be in the Nauplion Museum and nos. 46, 53, 65, and 75 are missing from the Medelshavsmuseet. A breakdown of the 71 existing vases into their various shapes subdivided into decorated and undecorated can be seen in *Table 1*.

The four missing vases were all undecorated; thus, the percentage of plain vessels to the total is over 40%. Of the decorated vases, even apart from the normal wear and tear, not many of them appear to have been of the quality one would expect on the basis of the other grave gifts.

Closer examination of the plain ware and even some of the decorated pottery revealed that many of the kylikes and cups and one jug (*Fig. 4*) seemed to have black 'incrustations' that looked suspiciously like tin-coating. The phenomenon of covering vases with tin was recognized by Immerwahr[8] and was found to exist

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Table 1. Asine Chamber Tomb I:1. Vases divided into decorated and undecorated.

Shape	Decorated	Undecorated
jar	5	
stirrup jar	18	
jug	6	1
squat alab.	2	
amphoriskos	2	
bowl	4	2
cup	1	
saucer	1	
kylix		20
conical cup		8
ladle	1	
Total	40	31

Table 2. Tin-coated Asine Chamber Tomb I:1 vases. The numbers to the left of the figures in parentheses indicate the total number of vessels which have been positively analysed for tin plus those which are most probably tin-covered. The numbers in parentheses indicate the maximum possible number of tin-covered vessels for the category.

Shape	Decorated	Undecorated	Dec. + tin	Undec. + tin
jar	5			
stirrup jar	18		1	
jug	6	1	1	1
squat alab.	2			
amphoriskos	2			
bowl	4	2		2
cup	1			
saucer	1			
kylix		20		13(19)
conical cup		8		6(8)
ladle	1			
Total	40	31	2(2)	22(30)

on vessels in rich (chamber) tombs both on the Greek mainland and on Crete in the Late Bronze Age. Later research has indicated that although not common, the use of tin in such grave contexts is not unusual.[9]

Tin as a metal is not indigenous to Greece and must be imported. There are many theories about where the tin came from[10] and how it traveled. Regardless of the source, whether it be Cornwall, Afghanistan, eastern Turkey or elsewhere, the tin had to travel long distances overland, on rivers and/or by sea to reach its destination. Thus it was an extremely valuable and 'costly' metal.

The first issue to be ascertained regarding Asine Chamber Tomb I:1 was whether the black 'crusts' on many of the vessels were tin or not. This could be determined by chemical analysis of the suspected surfaces. Six conical cups, four kylikes and one decorated stirrup jar were sent to the Central Board of National Antiquities, Dept. of Material Analysis and Archaeological Conservation, where Mr. Mille Törnblom and Ms. Kate Tronner with the help of Mr. Eric Norgren, metal conservator, analyzed them by Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) type JEOL JSM 840 with LINK equipment for micro x-ray analysis (*Fig. 5*). All were found to be covered with concentrations of very pure tin. *Fig. 6* shows the analysis results, where the highest peak is tin (Sn).

Regarding the analysis of the decorated stirrup jar (*Fig. 7a-b*), Törnblom and Tronner say in their report (RIKa 91–018):

ANALYSIS RESULTS

The red painting was found to be a ferrous compound, probably iron oxide. On top of this is a crust/surface incrustation which was found to be oxidized tin, similar to samples taken previously [the four kylikes and six conical cups], which were reported on in RIKa 90–029. The red painting was most likely made at the time of production, as *the tin-containing surface covers the painted surface.* (my translation and italics)

Clearly the decorated stirrup jar despite its surface treatment had been covered with tin some time after it had been painted.

In light of these findings, a reexamination of all the vases seemed indicated. It revealed that of the remaining 16 kylikes, 9 most probably had been tin-coated and 6 more, possibly. Only one kylix showed no indication whatsoever of tin. The two remaining conical cups had possibly been covered with tin. In addition, the two plain bowls and a plain-ware jug had most probably been coated. Finally, a well-decorated little three-handled jug had black 'incrustations' very similar to the painted stirrup-jar and most likely had also been covered with tin (*Fig. 8a-b*).

Thus, of the total 40 decorated vases, two were tin-covered (the stirrup jar and the jug, as yet not analyzed). Of the undecorated vases, 23 of the total 31

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Fig. 2. The vases from Asine Chamber Tomb I:1 exhibited in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.

were definitely or probably tin-covered. If the 8 vases which possibly had been coated are included, the total figure is 30 of 31 undecorated (*Table 2*).

Thus there is a situation where potentially 30 of the 31 plain vessels and two of the decorated ones deposited over the years had been covered with tin. The first and most reasonable question which arises is 'why?' The response which is closest to hand, the traditional one, is that the cups were meant to be understood as solid metal (tin or silver).

This response must be modified on the basis of experiments conducted by myself and Ms. Carola Bohm, ceramic conservator at the Central Board of National Antiquities, Department of Material Analysis and Archaeological Conservation, in June and September 1991 to determine how the metal was attached to the pottery.[11] We found that the best method was to take strips of thin (in our case 0.009 mm), pure tin foil and attach them to the vessels with an organic binder (both animal glue and rosin worked well). The finding was corroborated by the results of magnifications (30X) of the tin surface and a section from one of the analyzed vessels. The surface enlargement indicated minute wrinkles (*Fig. 9*) which cannot have resulted from pulverized or

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molten tin. The section enlargement showed that the tin had begun to flake in a way characteristic of tin only when it has been rolled (as to make foil).[12]

In the course of the experiments, we tested whether the tin when heated just to the melting point (232° C.) would become 'liquid' enough to 'sink' into the clay, thus creating a smooth metal surface. When checking the foil at c. 220° C., we discovered that it had undergone a chemical change and was now the color of gold!

It must be stated first of all that it is of course impossible to determine whether the Mycenean or Minoan smith had actually oxidized the foil to a golden appearance or not.[13] Assuming for the sake of discussion that the vases *had* been covered with gold-colored tin foil, there are three issues to consider.

A) Was it believed that the end product was real gold (the alchemist's dream)?

I do not believe this to have been the case. It would have been clear in subsequent burials during the several hundred years of use of the grave that some of the 'gold' had turned grey and/or black, and might even have started to disintegrate, while the rest of the gold (the real gold) would have remained gold.

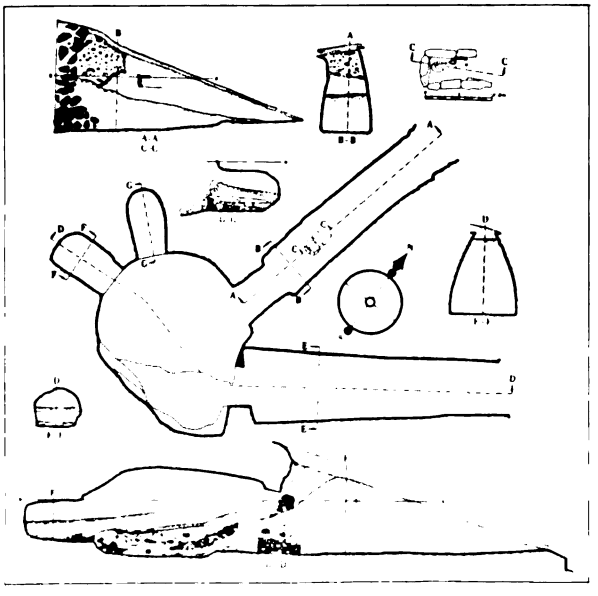

Fig. 3. Plan of Chamber Tomb I:1, Asine (from *Asine* I, fig. 134).

B) Why do all the tin-covered vessels documented to date[14] come only from grave contexts, almost always chamber tombs or other rich burials, and never from settlement contexts?

If we still asume for the sake of argument that the color was golden and further, that no smith believed he had produced real gold, four possible reasons can be given here. The first possibility involves a degree of deliberate deceit, passing off foil-covered pottery as solid gold. These vases did not allow a closer scrutiny. The seams of the strips and the unavoidable, minute wrinkles which are clearly seen at a close distance would be invisible several meters away (the length of a *dromos*). If people wanted to try to fool others into believing that the vessels were real gold, they would have to place them in inaccessible places where they could not easily be investigated.

A second possibility might be that even though everyone viewing the vessels knew that they were covered with gold-colored tin foil and were not solid gold, gold color was used by tradition, or to pay special symbolic homage to the deceased or simply due to the love of show typical for the Myceneans. In this case there would be no question of attempting to trick others into believing that the vessels were solid gold. Rather, the use of gold-colored (or even tin-colored) tin foil was known by all and had its own value and meaning.

A combination of possibilities one and two gives a third: that people might have known the vessels were covered with foil, but might have thought or been led to believe it was gold foil, not tin.

A fourth consideration is that as the foil is easily damaged (a fingernail can raise a bit of foil with very little effort), these vessels were clearly not functional and as such would have had no place in settlement contexts.

C) How should we evaluate Asine Chamber Tomb I:1 in view of this discovery, and in a wider perspective, Asine in its entirety?

Due in part to the existing pottery in the chamber tomb, which at first glance seems rather undistinguished, it has been easy if erroneous up to now to consider these burials as being of little consequence. The discovery that up to 30 of the 31 plain-ware vessels and two of the decorated one had been covered in shiny, valuable, rare tin foil, (either tin or) gold colored, puts a new dimension on the level of prestige and wealth of the burials. Thus the pottery, instead of being non-descript and undistinguished, blazed in a glory of

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Fig. 4. Three tin-covered vases, a kylix (Acc. 1049), a conical cup (Acc. 1069) and a jug (Acc. 1024), from Asine Chamber Tomb I:1.

gold and is suddenly consistent with the richness of the other finds in the grave.

In a wider perspective, the richness of the other graves as well and their tin-covered pottery[15] gives additional evidence to the fact that Asine must have been an important site in the Late Bronze Age. The fact that no palace-like building has yet been found and the excavated house remains are unprepossessing should be considered as the luck of the excavations. It seems clear that Asine was not a provincial backwater but rather a flourishing, wealthy, important Mycenean center.

Carole Gillis
Department of Classical Studies
Lund University
Sölvegatan 2
S-223 62 Lund

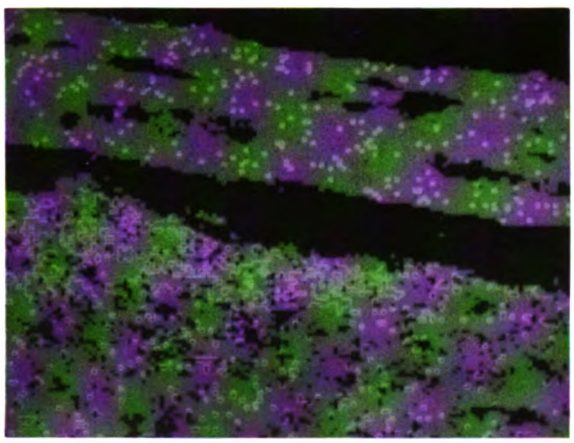

Fig. 5. Analysis by Scanning Electron Microscope of a section of a conical cup from Asine Chamber Tomb I:1. The top, surface, layer is composed of almost pure tin while the layer under the tin is silicate with bits of iron and sulphur.

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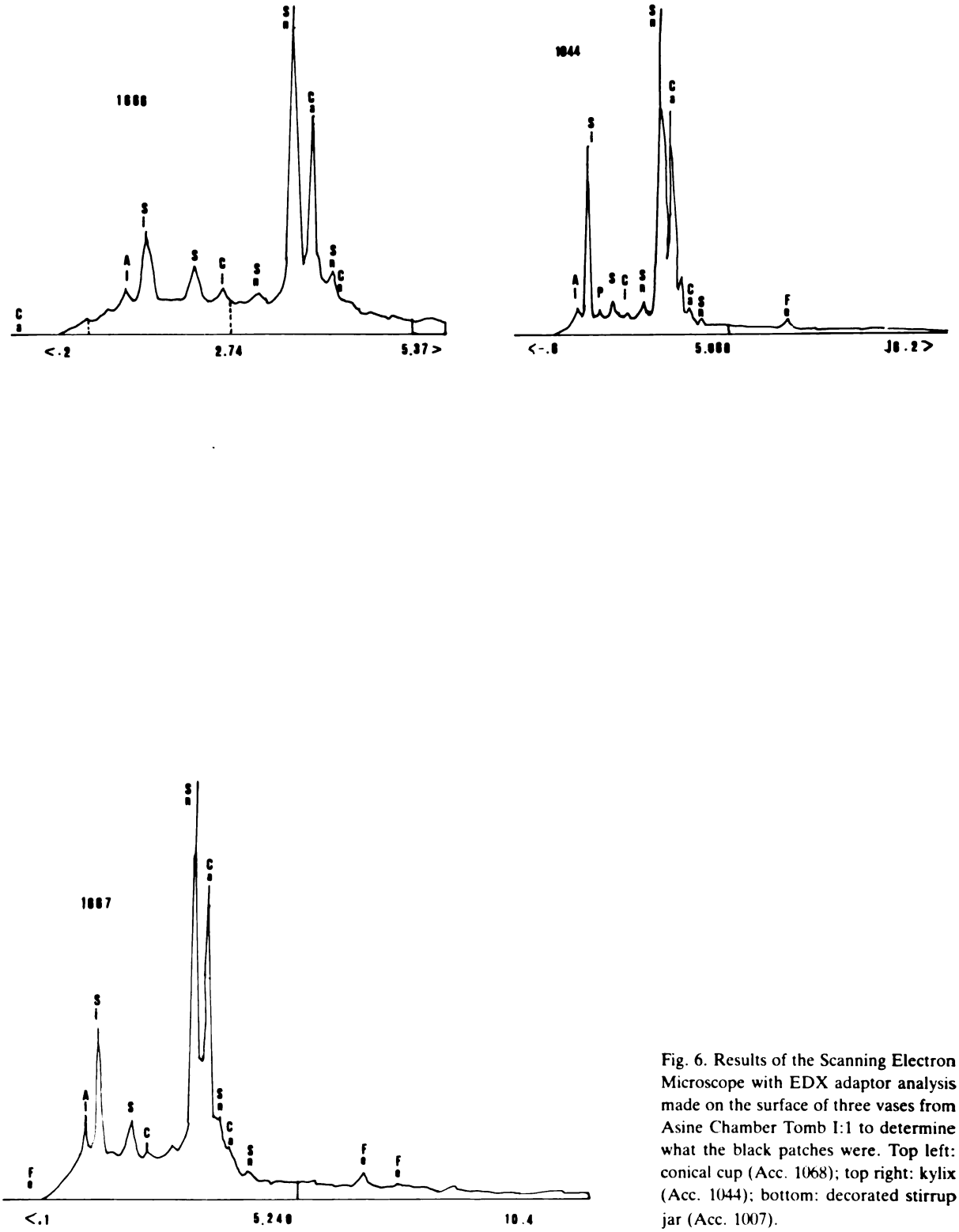

Fig. 6. Results of the Scanning Electron Microscope with EDX adaptor analysis made on the surface of three vases from Asine Chamber Tomb I:1 to determine what the black patches were. Top left: conical cup (Acc. 1068); top right: kylix (Acc. 1044); bottom: decorated stirrup jar (Acc. 1007).

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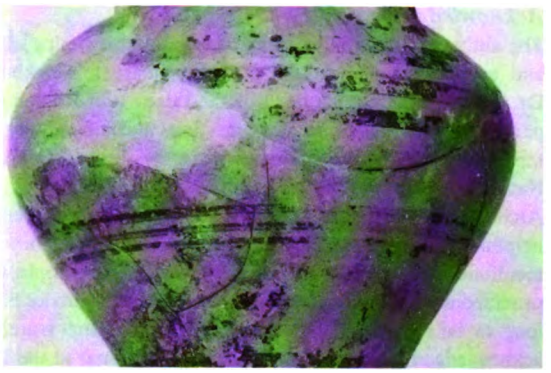

Fig. 7a–b. a) Decorated stirrup jar (Acc. 1007) from Asine Chamber Tomb I:1 in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm with tin covering. b) Detail of a).

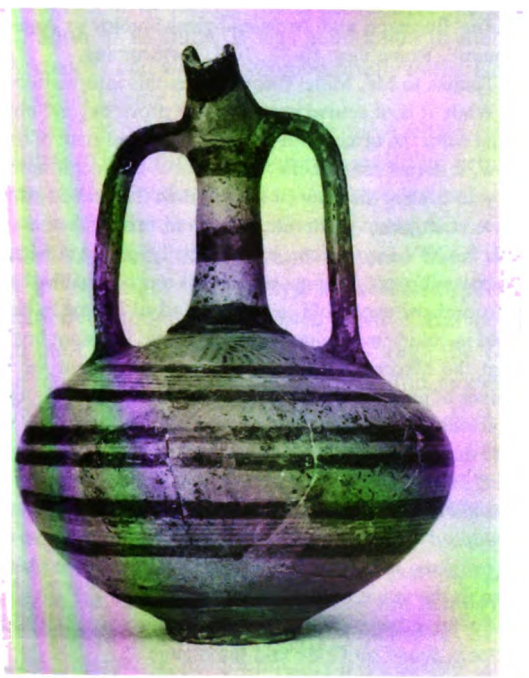

Fig. 8 Decorated small, three-handled jug (Acc. 1023) from Asine Chamber Tomb I:1 in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm with possible tin covering, as yet not analyzed.

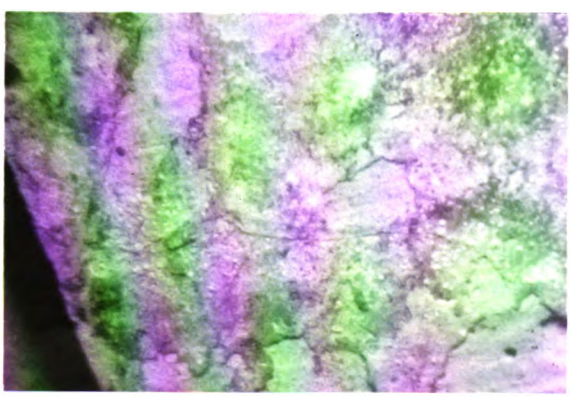

Fig 9. Surface enlargement (30X) of tin covering.

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The author is indebted to many people for their help, advice and encouragement. At the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, Dr. Eva Rystedt, acting head of the Greek and Roman Department, was positive to all suggestions and nipped any red tape in its bud. Various persons from the Central Board of National Antiquities, Department of Material Analysis and Archaeological Conservation, Stockholm, were extremely helpful in the analysis and experimental aspects. They are mentioned individually in the text. The list of people who provided me with their professional opinions and advice is too long to take up here, but their contributions are gratefully acknowledged. Lastly I wish to thank my seminar at the University of Lund for discussing with me some of the ideas included here and leading me from the path of rashness into the ways of moderation.

Bibliographical abbreviations
Asine I= O. Frödin and A.W.Persson, *Asine. Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922–1926*, (ed. A. Westholm), Stockholm 1938.

[1] *Asine* I, 12.

[2] For the old excavations, see *Asine* I, 128f. for the lower city; ibid., 354–356 for Late Helladic burials other than in chamber tombs. Regarding the modern excavations, neither Dietz (S. Dietz, *Asine* II.1. *General stratigraphical analysis and architectural remains* (ActaAth-4°, 24:2), Stockholm 1980, 57–69, 84f., 101f.) nor Frizell (B. Santillo Frizell, *Asine* II.3. *Results of the excavations east of the acropolis 1970–1974* (ActaAth-4°, 24:3), Stockholm 1986, 85–87) reports any graves in the area dug to the east of the acropolis. The same is true for the area on the Barbouna slope (the so-called Levendis sector), see B. Santillo Frizell, *An early Mycenaean settlement at Asine*, Gothenburg 1980; I. Hägg, 'Report on the field-work in the Levendis Sector, 1970–72', in *Excavations in the Barbouna area at Asine* (ed. R. Hägg and I. Hägg), Fasc. 1 (Boreas, 4:1), Uppsala 1973, 26; B. Santillo Frizell, 'Finds of the Late Helladic period', *Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine* (ed. R. Hägg and I. Hägg), Fasc. 2 (Boreas 4:2), Uppsala 1978. The four possible Late Mycenean graves are found listed in Dietz (supra), 85.

[3] *Asine* I, 160. However Persson in the same volume (356f.) states that the first, northern *dromos* and the tomb were cut in LHII for a burial, after which the *dromos* was filled in and the tomb forgotten. Several centuries later (presumably LHIIIB) a new *dromos* to the south was dug which by coincidence went so close to the old chamber that it could be reused. Both Frödin and Persson agree however that the northern *dromos* is the older.

[4] *Asine* I, 160.

[5] *Asine* I, 371–377.

[6] *Asine* I, 376 n. 2. Cf P. Åström, *The Cuirass Tomb and other finds at Dendra* (SIMA, 4), Gothenburg 1977. Visual representations can be found e.g. in the miniature fresco from the West House, Akrotiri, Thera, e.g. L. Morgan, *The miniature wall paintings of Thera*, Cambridge 1988, color plate A or pl. 189.

[7] *Asine* I, 359–371.

[8] S. Immerwahr, 'The use of tin on Mycenaean vases', *Hesperia* 35, 1966, 381–396.

[9] E.g., C. Gillis, 'Tin-covered vessels in the Aegean Bronze Age', *Hydra* 8, 1991, 1–30.

[10] See e.g. *Asine* I; R.D. Penhallurick, *Tin in antiquity*, London 1986; J.D. Muhly, *Copper and Tin* (1973) plus *Copper and Tin Supplement*, Hamden 1976.

[11] Laboratory facilities were generously put at our disposal by Prof. Birgitta Hulthén and Dr. Anders Lindahl, Laboratory for Ceramic and Clay Mineral Research and Analysis, Lund University, and the Central Board of National Antiquities, Department of Material Analysis and Archaeological Conservation, Stockholm. The test cups were thrown by Ms. Karin Bergqvist, Malmö. Assistence and technical expertise were provided by Mr. Eric Norgren, Central Board of National Antiquities, Dept. of Metal Conservation, Stockholm. Funding came partially from the Selma Andersson Fond, Uppsala. The full report of these experiments will be published by Gillis and Bohm in the Acta of the "European Workshop. Archaeometric Research and Archaeological Studies in Ancient Ceramics", Rome Oct. 10–12, 1991, forthcoming.

[12] Thanks to Mr. Mille Törnblom for this information.

[13] While it is of course impossible to prove beyond any doubt what color the original tin was due to its total state of oxidation now, it seems reasonable to me that if the metalsmiths knew how to control the color of the tin, then the desired effect must have been gold. While tin, silver and bronze (see e.g. Pliny, *NH* XXXIV i-ix, *passim*, but especially i.1 and iii.8, where he discusses bronze, saying i.a. that it is more valuable than silver and perhaps even gold, and one kind of bronze is similar to gold in color) imitations are a possibility, it cannot be doubted that the Mycenean society was very clear about the relative values of gold, silver, tin, copper and other precious and semi-precious metals. Chamber Tomb I:1 contained a silver vessel and an iron ring as well. If one were going to coat an object with foil to make it appear more valuable, then a gold color is the likely candidate. Furthermore, the tin-covered vessels we produced in our experiment did not have the same color or appearance as silver and the contrast with the real silver vessel also in the grave would have been great.

[14] So far I have gathered evidence for about 150–175 such vessels, found on Crete and the mainland.

[15] To be published by this author in the Acta of the Second International Mycenaean Congress held in Rome 13–20 Oct., 1991, forthcoming.

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Unpublished Terracottas from Ajia Irini

Gloria Ikosi

Introduction

One hundred and one terracottas are presented in this article. They are unpublished and all come from Ajia Irini. The site is located on the Kormakiti peninsula on Cyprus and was excavated in 1929–1930 by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

In all its phases Ajia Irini is interpreted as having a cultic character. The site was first used in the Late Cypriote period. After a hiatus, Ajia Irini was revisited in the Cypro-Geometric II[1] to serve as an open-air sanctuary into the Archaic period. The sanctuary suffered a series of floodings, which account for the good preservation of its finds. It was abandoned in the Cypro-Archaic II and was re-occupied briefly in the Hellenistic period (*Table 1*).

Ajia Irini is primarily known for its Archaic votive terracottas. They were discovered in stratified primary contexts and provide the basis for the chronological succession of styles in Archaic Cypriote sculpture. Only sporadic fragments of sculptural material have been found in the strata of the Cypro-Geometric period. Dedications of votive terracottas in massive scale began first in the Cypro-Archaic I (Period 4), when the Geometric temenos underwent enlargement and moderate modification; dedications continued, though at a reduced scale, for the remaining of the Cypro-Archaic II (Periods 5 and 6). The Hellenistic phase of the site is characterized by a dearth of finds and very few specimens of sculptural material.

About half of the finds from Ajia Irini were assigned to Sweden by the Cypriote authorities and are now in the Medelhavsmuseet.[2] Considerable quantities of unpublished fragments, predominantly from hollow larger scale terracottas, are to be found in the storerooms of the Museum. Only few of the terracottas presented here are complete. The rest, though very fragmentary, have been included either because they constitute clear fragments or because they make a positive, non-marginal contribution to our understanding of the terracotta assemblage of Ajia Irini. Certain pieces belong to unique or rare types; others exhibit features noteworthy of attention, such as surface treatment and construction technique.

The published terracottas and Gjerstad's classification

Approximately 2,000 terracottas are attributed to the Archaic phase of the site. For the most part they represent male figures standing in a frontal position with the arms along their sides. They vary in size from very small to lifesize. Chariot groups, horse and riders, ring dancers, 'minotaurs' and bull statuettes form part of the terracotta assemblage, but are present in significantly smaller numbers[3] (*Fig. 1*).

Gjerstad, who published the site, divided the terracottas in human form in three large groups: Terracotta Sculptures, Large Human Idols and Small Human Idols.[4]

Under the terracotta sculptures he grouped statues and statuettes which lent themselves to stylistic analysis and bore the "impress of an incontestable and clearly artistic character".[5] He divided them into seven different styles: the Proto-Cypriote (Styles I-IV), the Neo-Cypriote (Styles V-VI) and the Cypro-Archaic (Style VII). All large scale terracottas and, for the most part, statuettes executed in Styles IV-VII[6] were classified as terracotta statues (*Fig. 2*). The rest of the larger scale statues and statuettes were termed Large Human Idols. They were divided into four types on the basis of criteria based on iconography and, inevitably, style (*Fig. 3*).

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Table 1. Summary of the stratigraphical phasing and architectural history of the site

Phase		Stratum	Period
LCIII	Complex of Rectangular Rooms built on the Rock	12	1
CGIII	Intentional concealing of LC remains Peribolos Wall Altar	11	2
CGIII-CAI	Heightening of Peribolos Wall New Altar	10	3
CAI-CAII	Widened Temenos New Peribolos Wall Use of same altar Small 'enclosure' in the south part Shelters along the W. and N. peribolos walls Dedications of votive terracottas in massive scale	9	4
	Inundation by flood	8	
	Alluvial layer of sand and gravel		
CAII	New Peribolos Wall coinciding with/near the wall of preceeding period Use of same altar Entrance with stairway in SE corner of Temenos	7	5
	Inundation by flood	6	
	Alluvial layer of sand and gravel		
CAII	Repairing of small 'enclosure' Use of same altar	5	6
	Inundation by flood	4	
	Abandonment of Temenos		
Hellenistic	Rectangular hypethral 'Shrine' built between the Peribolos Wall and the 'enclosure'. Archaic votive terracottas used as substructure for the floor of 'Shrine' Area around altar covered with thin layer of lime-earth	3	7

Small size terracottas, either standing alone or forming part of ring dance or chariot groups, were classified as Small Human Idols. They were divided into different types on the basis of a mixture of typological, technological and iconographic criteria. Types 1–4 represented for the most part hollow figurines similar, though in smaller scale, to the statuettes. Types 5–6 comprised solid, handmade figurines; Type 7 figurines with wheelmade bodies and moldmade faces; Type 8 small scale terracottas cast in single-sided molds. Types 9–12 included a handful of terracottas notable for their iconographic variation. Ring dancers were grouped under Type 13, horse riders under Type 14 and chariot groups under Type 15. Type 16 included one specimen only, a fragment from a Hellenistic figurine (*Fig. 4*).

The new material

The thematic distribution of the terracottas/terracotta fragments presented here is as follows: 35 medium/large scale terracottas and 13 small size figurines representing human figures, probably free standing and not forming part of groups; 4 horse and riders; 18 anabates/charioteers; 1 chariot body; 9 chariot wheels; 9 chariot wheels or shields; 1 horse; 7 bulls; 2 small size animal-like figurines; 1 'thunderbolt'; 1 'votive tree'.

The presentation follows the format of a catalogue, largely patterned on the list of finds in the publication of the site (*SCE* II). The catalogue is partitioned in sections of material sharing a similar thematic content or typological character. I found it useful to add a comment before one, or before a group of catalogue entries, drawing attention to certain features of the piece(s) presented or relating it/them to the terracotta assemblage already published. Although terracottas similar in style, technique and theme were produced all over the island, the material from Ajia Irini appears to have a local, at the most, a regional character.[7] In most cases the closest comparanda for the new material are to be found in the published terracottas from the site.

The entries of the catalogue

The new material was given consecutive inventory numbers starting with 3000.[8] Lengthy descriptions have been avoided; the reader is instead referred to the photographs.

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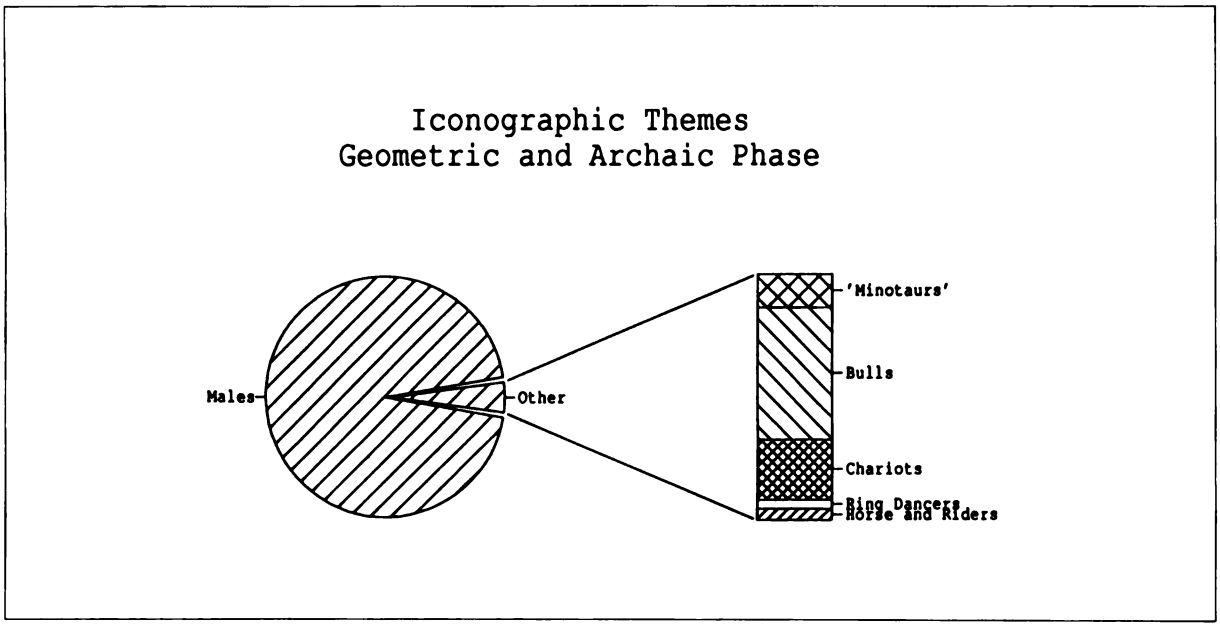

Fig. 1. Based on the tables of finds in *SCE* II and on Gjerstad 1963.

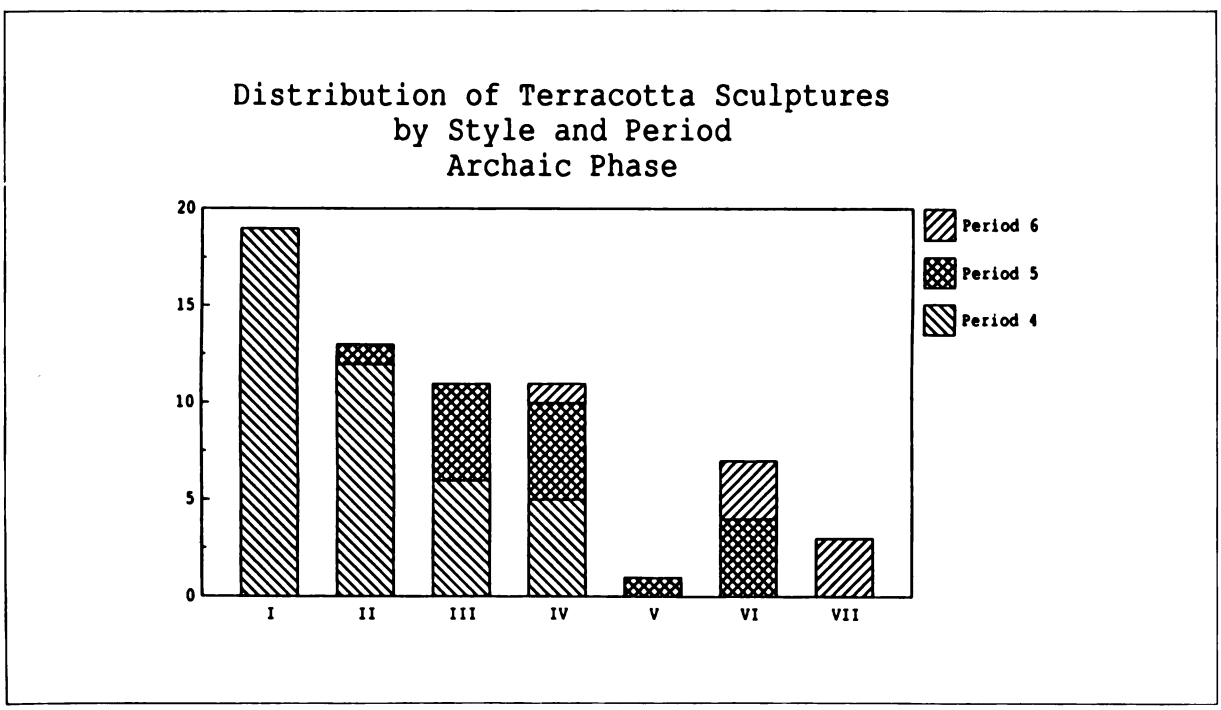

Fig. 2. Based on the tables of finds in *SCE* II and on Gjerstad 1963. Includes only stratified material. Scale of vertical axis in counts. **Styles I–II: First Proto-Cypriote**; Styles III–IV: Second Proto-Cypriote; Styles V–VI: Neo-Cypriote; Style VII: Cypro-Archaic.

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a. Condition/state of preservation

Records missing parts and the number of fragments from which the terracotta was restored.

b. Technique of manufacture

Statements concerning the technique in which each terracotta was made are based on observations of its interior and exterior surface. There are a few cases where direct observations were not possible, either because the coroplast left no clues, or because of the restoration procedure followed. In such cases I either left the entry empty or ventured to propose a possible way of construction always using the word 'probably' to convey a level of uncertainty caused by the lack of direct observations.

A study of technique of the Ajia Irini terracotta assemblage shows that terracottas in medium and large size were hollow, built by throwing and/or coiling. Although some were wheelmade, most of the small size terracottas were solid and handmade. Molds, when used, were restricted to the face.[9] The new material is built in this way; there are, however, some exceptions (3026, 3035, 3047, 3093, 3094, 3095), which were not anticipated.

c. Surface treatment

Under this sub-entry I include information on wash, on paint and on surface treatment.

i. Wash

A thin layer of wash is usually applied either on the exterior or on both the exterior and the interior of a terracotta by immersing it in a clay bath. In the case of the Ajia Irini material a wash can be readily identified if its color contrasts sharply with the color of the clay by looking at (clean) breaks or at areas where it has been locally effaced. In some cases the presence of a wash cannot be established with certainty. There are examples for which examination of the breaks gives no positive identification, while the surface of the terracotta has a homogeneous color, which matches the color of the wash used in other pieces. In such cases I have used the term 'homogeneous surface color' for this catalogue sub-entry.

ii. Paint

Matte paints were used. The examples recorded preserve decoration in red and in black. The pigments are in all probability iron oxides.[10]

iii. Evening, smoothing and modelling

The terms introduced here describe what can be actually observed on the surface of a terracotta as a result of a procedure relating primarily to evening, smoothing, or modelling.

a. Incisions and spatula marks
   The coroplasts brought the terracottas to the desired form by using two different types of tools with which they worked their exteriors: tools with a sharp edge, which left incisions when applied; and scraping tools with non-sharp edges, which produced spatula(-like) marks. This process partly erased wheelmarks or other indications of the building technique.
b. Clay drips
   In a few cases diluted clay was added to conceal localized cracks, other mistakes, or signs of technique; the more watery clay dripped down the surface of the terracotta creating a series of clay drips.
c. Finger prints
   Some terracottas show finger prints on their surface; they were left when the coroplasts applied pressure with their fingers on the clay to connect separately made parts, or, less often, at modelling. Finger prints are more indicative of the building technique and modelling than of surface treatment.
d. Finger striations
   Often finger striations are visible on the surface, produced when the coroplasts used their hands at smoothing, at the application of a wash or paint, or at modelling. Finger striations made at the use of a potter's wheel are not recorded.

All these variables have been recorded to furnish a vivid illustration of how the terracottas assumed their final form. Their differential use may serve as a measure of internal variation in the construction techniques of the terracotta material; this can in turn constitute a reliable criterion for attributing fragments to types and fingerprinting specific coroplasts.

d. Clay

A clay typology based on inclusions was devised with the aid of a magnifying glass giving 30x magnification. The objective was to identify essential clay types for the subsequent selection of a sample for a detailed petrographic analysis. The percentage occupied by inclusions

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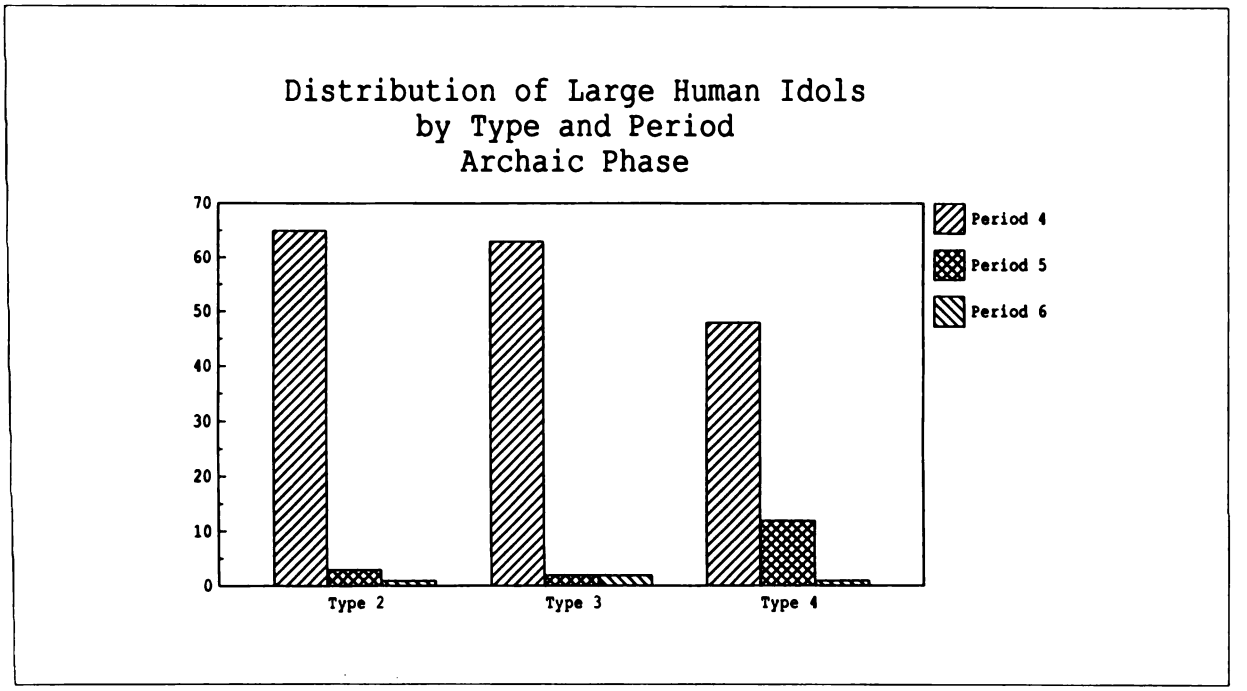

Fig. 3. Based on the tables of finds in *SCE* II.

was roughly estimated using comparison charts (*Fig. 5*).[11]

What follows is a visual description of the three most frequently encountered clay types, as they appear under the magnifying glass. This is not an exhaustive description of all types of inclusions, but a presentation of the most prominent and salient constituents, which are used as criteria for clay characterization and assignment to types.[12]

Type A
Small and medium in size, somewhat elongated polygonal or oval inclusions. Transparent orange inclusions predominate followed by transparent grey; some non-transparent dark grey inclusions.

Type B
Inclusions of the same type as in Clay Type A, but of different size and shape, predominantly small and round. Matte and transparent equally prominent. Smallish black dots visible to the unaided eye. Clay more rough in texture and porous in appearance than of Type A.

Type C
Small and medium in size inclusions, black and grey, transparent or matte and with flattish, abraded surface; round, squarish, polygonal or triangular in shape. Inclusions visible to the unaided eye as small grey/black dots. Clay somewhat porous.

It was not possible to fill the entry when the clay was low in inclusions, or when wash/paint interfered with the clay reading.

Most of the material from Ajia Irini can be classified into regularly occuring clay types. Type A is the most widely used clay at the site, followed by clays of Type B and Type C. Groups sharing the same clay correspond, at least partly, to the production of the various coroplasts. If used with caution and if other criteria are taken into consideration, clay can serve as an indicator of authorship.

e. Hardness[13]
A simple and quick test for checking the hardness of each terracotta was applied using the Mohs' method. Despite the limitations of the method already pointed out by Shepard[14] – unevenness of scale, lack of uniformity in the shape of the point and in the pressure applied during the test – the test proved useful in giving a rough impression of how well a terracotta can stand

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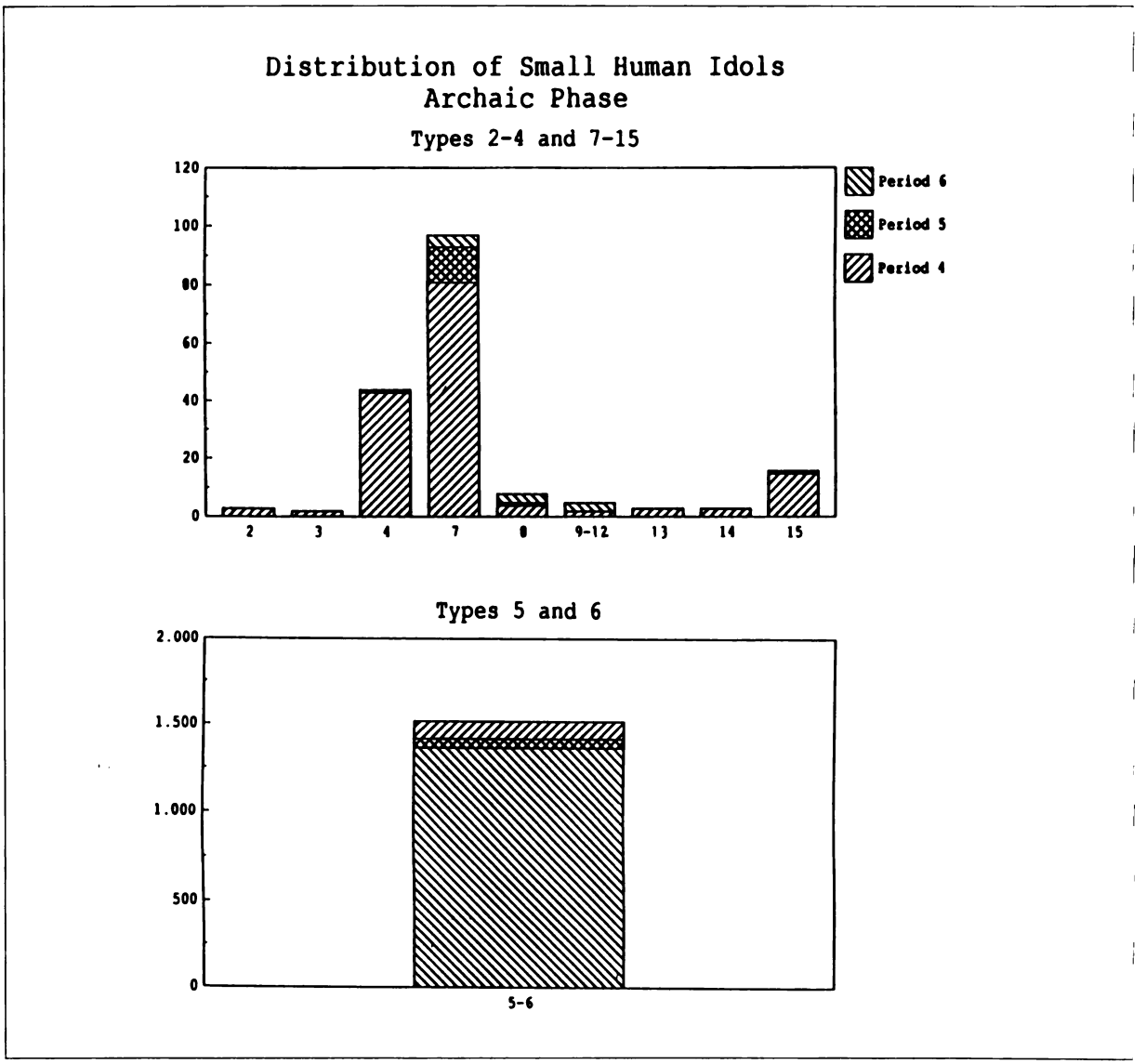

Fig. 4. Based on the tables of finds in *SCE* II and on Gjerstad 1963.

abrasion. Apart from this, it has been of assistance in establishing a correlation between color and hardness for each type of clay, generating a basis for comparisons between the various clay types.

The hardness of the terracottas from Ajia Irini can be described using the lower range of the Mohs' scale: talc (1), selenite (2), calcite (3), and fluorite (4). The hardness of most of the terracottas presented here is 2, that is, the surface could be scratched using selenite, the second mineral in the Mohs' scale. An intermediate mineral between selenite and talc, the first mineral in the Mohs' scale, would have captured the variability in hardness better. To compensate for this shortcoming of the Mohs' scale, I have used characterizations (soft, hard) describing the pressure I applied during the test. Quite a few of the terracottas could be abraded by calcite (3); fluorite (4) gave the upper bound for hardness; selenite (2- soft) the lower bound for all but one of the terracottas.

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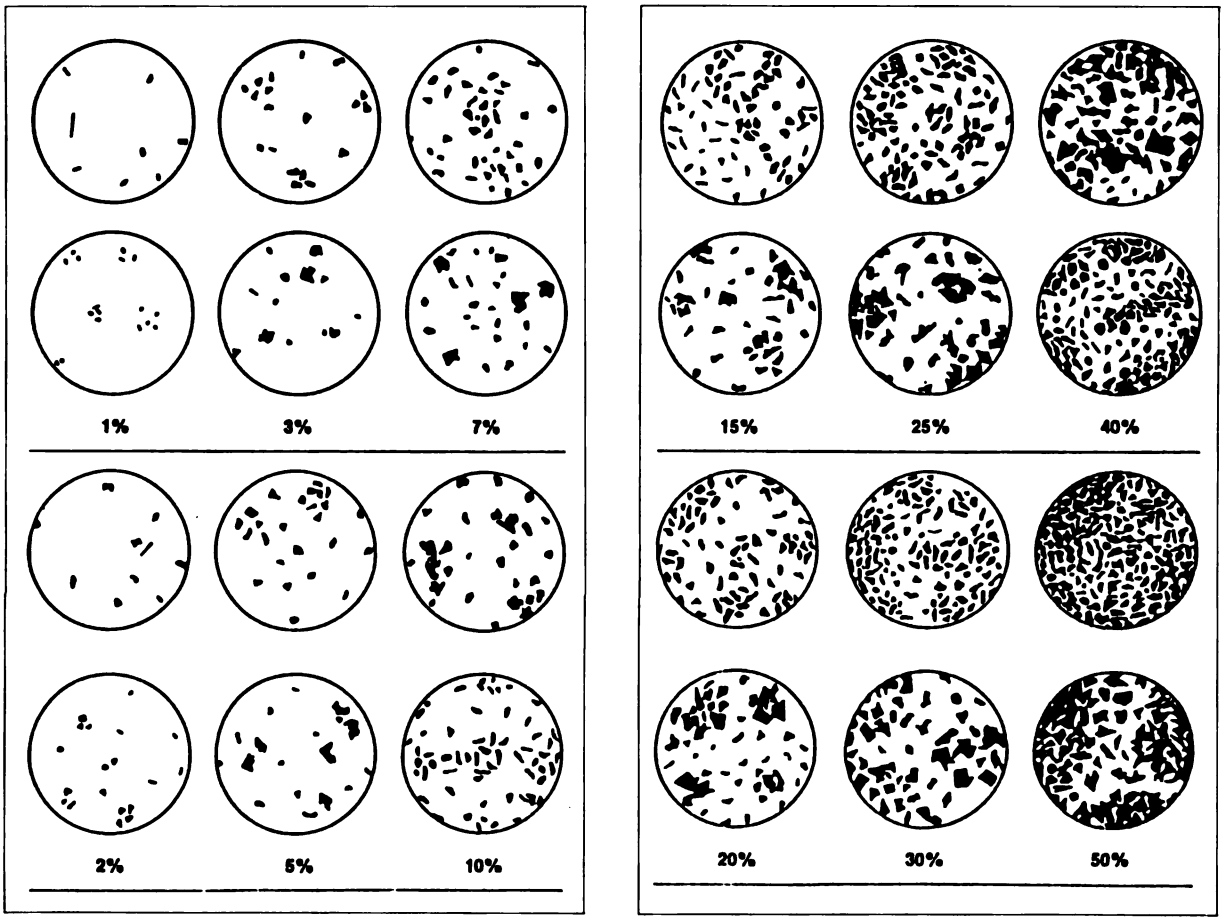

Fig. 5. Comparison chart for estimating percentage composition. From the *Journal of Sedimentary Petrology*, vol. 25:3, pp. 229–234, 1955.

f. Color

As color contributes to the final aesthetic effect of each piece, it was recorded for the clay, the wash, and the paint. The Munsell system was used. Color readings were taken indoors, under direct artificial light.[15]

The most frequently matching color for the clay is 2.5 YR 6/6; the Munsell system could not fully describe the subtleties of color variability in that area of the spectrum. In a few cases I used the term 'diluted' in parenthesis next to the color reading. The chosen chart reading matched the color of the artefact best, but appeared to be too 'concentrated'. If the color were available as a pigment on a painter's palette, a much closer match could be obtained by diluting the pigment. Readings for black pigments are approximate, as in most cases very little of the color was preserved.

With increasing hardness, clay color shifts to darker hues; this holds especially true for clay of Type A.

g. Measurements

H: height; W: width; D: diameter; T: thickness; R: radius.

Standardization of measurements proved somewhat difficult due to the fragmentary nature of the material. The measurements given present the maximum preserved or originally intended value of the indicated variables. This is measured using the two most distant, and not necessarily joining points, in the direction of measurement. In the case of terracottas in human form W (width) is measured at the shoulders. Measurements are given in centimeters.

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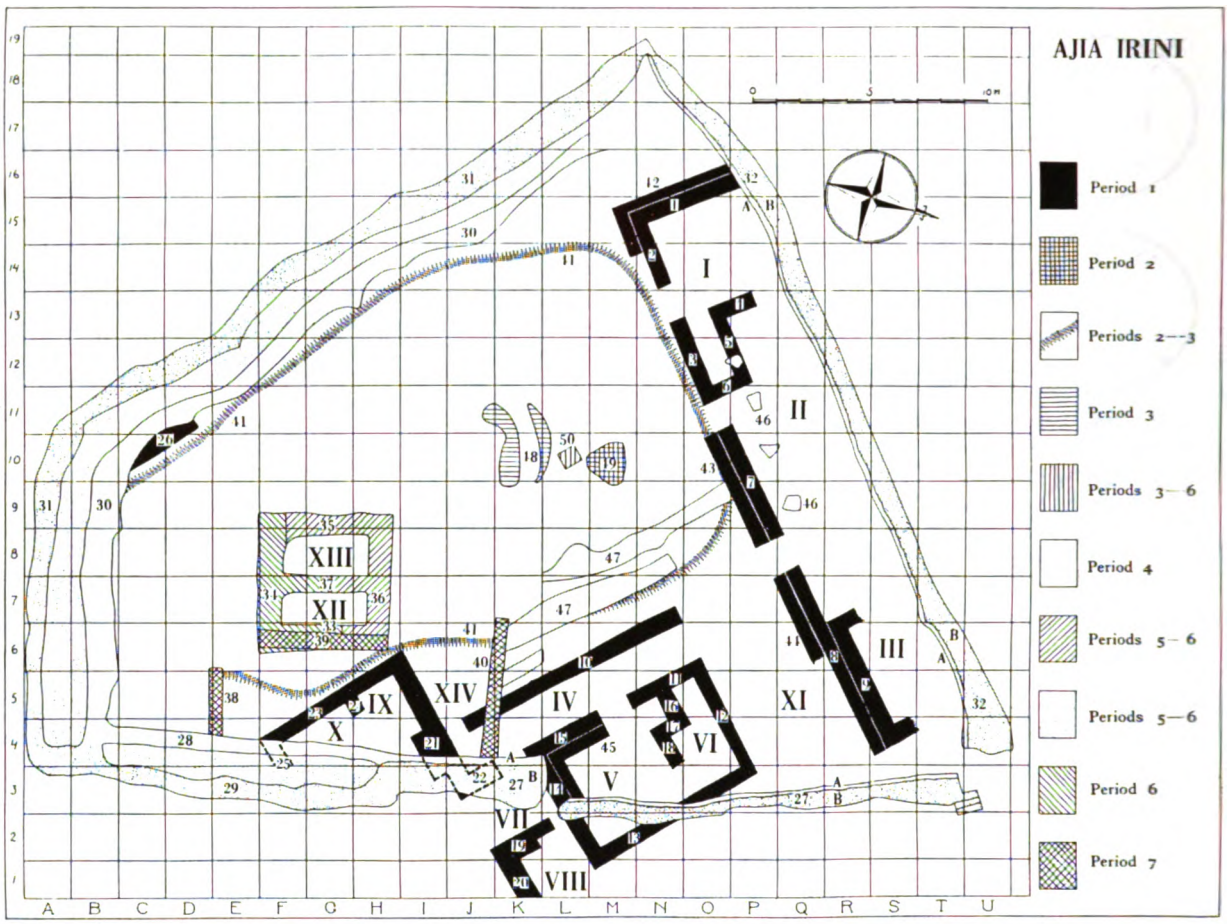

Fig. 6. Ajia Irini. Analytical plan of the architecture. From *SCE* II, fig. 263.

h. Context (Fig. 6)

For 70 of the terracottas we have no context.[16] For 24 we have only the square in which they have been found. This is usually in the immediate vicinity of the altar–the altar is located in square L10 – or in squares adjacent to it. There are a few exceptions:

(i) 3019, was found in square G8, farther away from the altar. G8 and the 8 squares around it have produced very little by way of finds including only 6 small size terracottas.

(ii) 3009 comes from square D4, where Archaic terracotta sculptures were collected to serve as a substructure for the Hellenistic shrine.

(iii) 3098 was found in a surface layer in Q11.

Problematic is the location of the square for three terracottas: 3020, 3027 and 3029. The excavation began with a different designation for the grid system and some of the sculptures/boxes with finds are still marked using the old system.[17] 3029 is marked with E4; 3020 and 3027 are marked with E7. No terracottas are reported from E7 or the 8 squares surrounding it; in E4 terracottas in Archaic styles served as substructure for the wall of the cult chapel of Period 7. E4 corresponds to K7 and E7 to K10 in the new grid notation. Both K10 and K7 are in the vicinity of the altar.

Three terracottas, 3039, 3044 and 3046 are reported to come from the statue floor; one, 3097 was found below the statue floor. The term 'statue floor', applied to all squares of the site during excavation,[18] is not used in the final publication, where reference is made to the floors of specified periods. Most of the terracottas from Ajia Irini were found arranged in semicircles around the altar. They were distributed more densely in the area defined by J-M, 8–12. A more compact mass of

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terracotta material was concentrated around the altar, in the southern part of squares M9 and L10, the northern part of K10, most of L11 and the west half of L9 (*SCE* II, plan 28). In this area terracottas in large numbers were first found in layers 9 and 8, and subsequently in layers 7–4, though in smaller numbers. I take the term 'statue floor' to refer to the layers 9–4, although one might be inclined to restrict it to layers 9 and 8. Layers 9–4 span a chronological range from the middle of the Cypro-Archaic I to the abandonment of the site in the Cypro-Archaic II. All area enclosed by the peribolos wall shows comparable stratification. Layers 9–4 are not always stratigraphically distinct.

Terracottas 3014 and 3040, with joining fragments from different squares, give a rough measure of the secondary disturbance at the site.

Catalogue

I. STATUES, STATUETTES AND WHEELMADE FIGURINES IN HUMAN FORM

A. Fragments preserving the face

1. Hollow

3000. Part of face and shoulders of statue. Ear pierced. (*Fig. 7*).

a. Mended from several fragments.
b. Stauette built with coils. 6 rows of coils followed over much of surface of back of shoulders. Few coil joints visible on interior surface of head. Extra pad of clay around neck strengthens transition of neck to head. Ventilation hole cut out at back; only upper portion preserved. Traces of technique obscured at junction of head and body and on interior of head. Applied handmade ear.
c. Wash. Lighter red paint on neck, ear and face to indicate skin. Darker red on lips painted over lighter red. Black band around head. Black paint on eyebrow, outline of eye and iris. Several vertical/horizontal incisions along shoulders, neck and on back. Finger prints on interior.
d. Clay low in inclusions. No reliable reading possible due to paint.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 5YR 7/4–6/4; wash 10YR 8/3; black 2.5YR 3/0; red 7.5R 5/6 (skin), 5R 3/4 (ears), 5R 4/4 (lips).
g. H: 31.7; W: 23.4.
h. Context missing.

Fig. 7. A. I. 3000.

3001. Part of right side of face, shoulder and arm of terracotta statue. Ear pierced (*Fig. 8*).

a. Mended from several fragments.
b. Traces of three consecutive, horizontal coils of roughly equal width on interior surface of face. Coil joints on neck, head and upper arm; pattern not clear. Arm hollow, filled in with plaster at restoration. Carefully rendered grooves for nostrils.
c. No wash. Red paint on face, head (front and back), arm, inner side of hand. Darker red paint on upper lip. No paint on shoulder. Trace of black on back of head, eyebrows, eyelids and iris. Incisions and few spatula marks on back of head, on shoulder and on arm. Some clay drips on arm. Finger striations.
d. Clay low in inclusions. No reliable reading possible due to paint. Possibly as clay of 3000.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 7.5YR 7/4–8/4 (face), 5YR 7/4 (body); red 7.5R 5/6; black 5YR 3/1.
g. H: 31.3; W: 19.0; L: 20.8 (arm); T: 6.0, 5.3 (at bent of elbow). Face, H: 8.1, W: 8.0.
h. Context missing.

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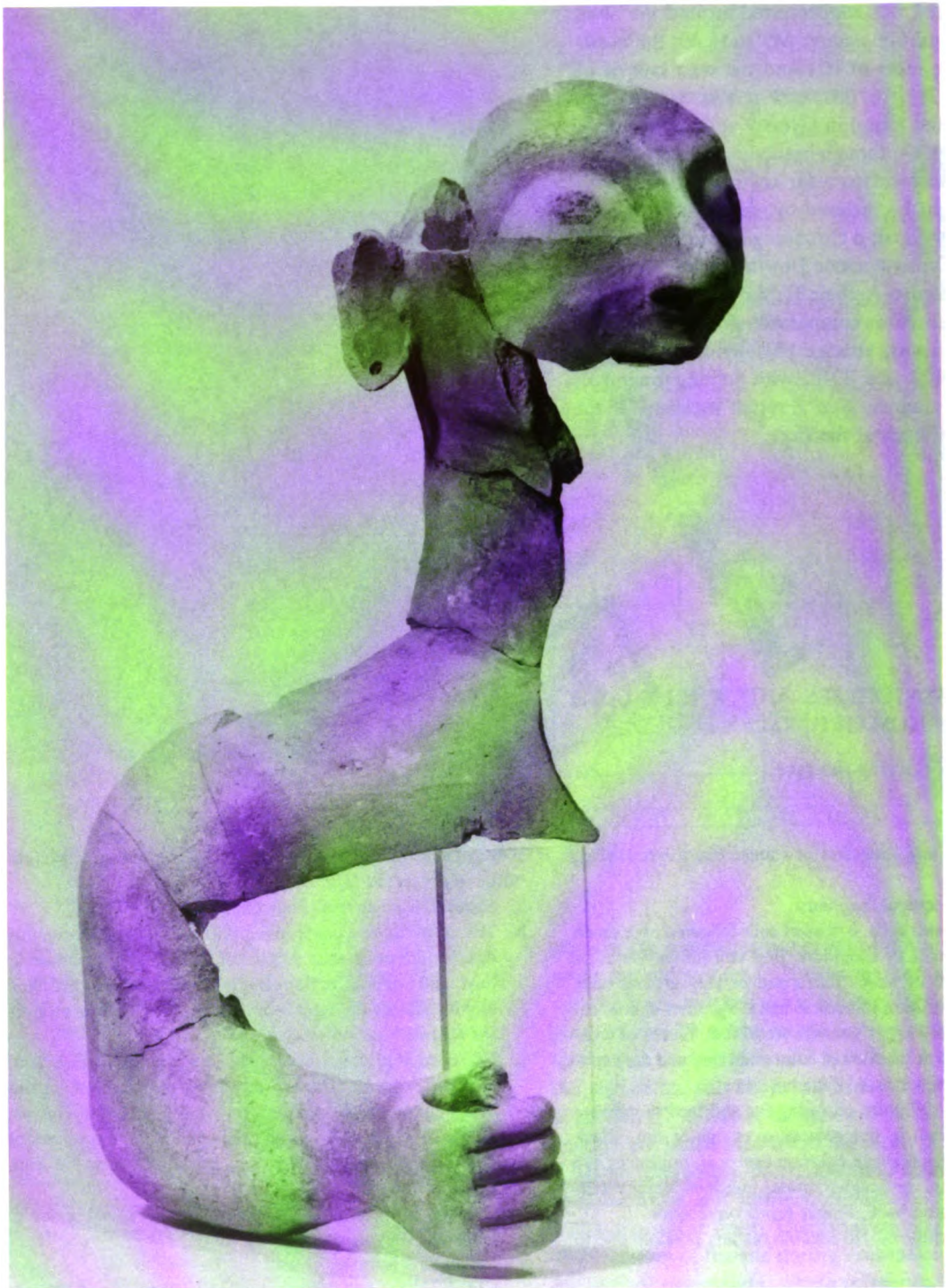

Fig. 8. A. I. 3001.

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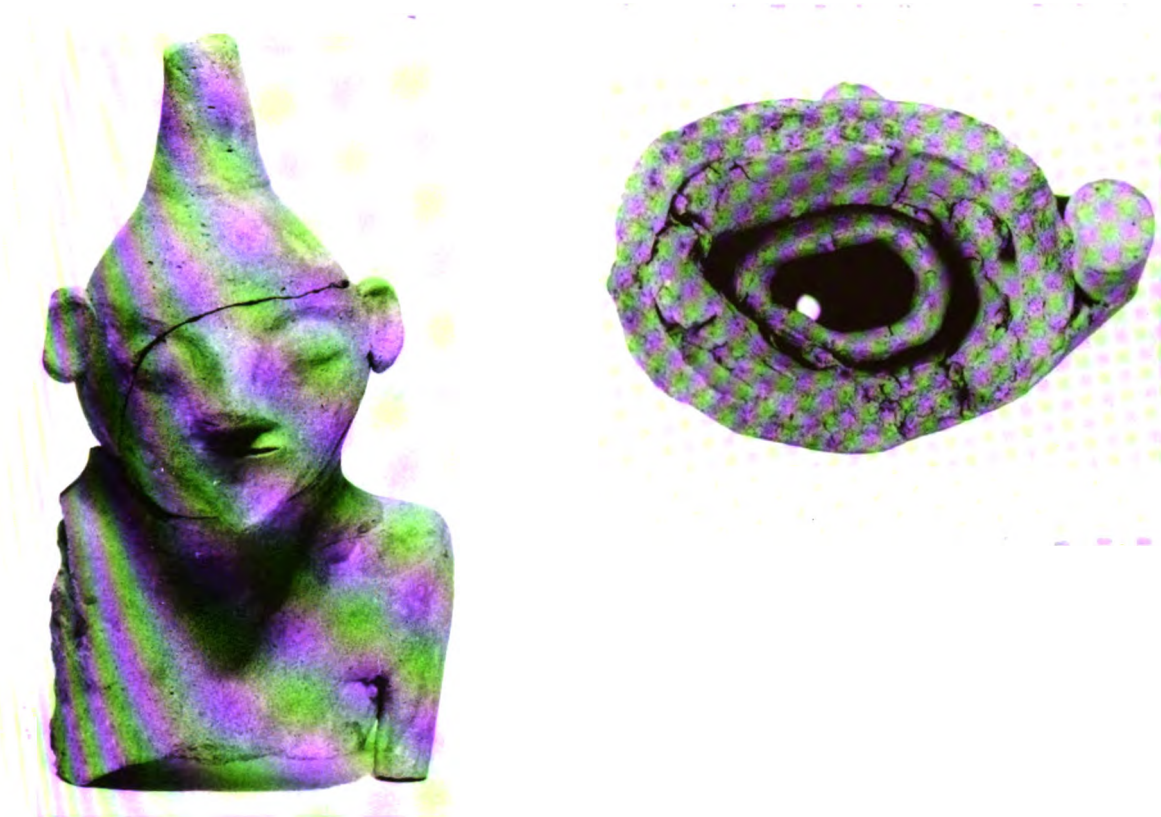

Fig. 9a–b. A. I. 3002.

3000 and 3001 belong to the First Proto-Cypriote style. They were built with coils, arranged in successive rows. Both pieces are notable for the amount of paint preserved on them. They give us a glimpse of the colorful effect at least some of the terracottas from Ajia Irini must have had. Three colors are used: a lighter red for the skin, black for the hair, the eyebrows, eyelids and the iris, and a stronger hue of red for the lips. The color scheme suggests a convention whereby the skin was painted red – the convention is shared also by AI 2467+Suppl.No. 2802 (*SCE II,* pl. 223,2; Gjerstad 1963, figs. 35a and b), a head in Cypro-Archaic style, and by 3010 below. Another point of interest are the ears, which on both terracottas are pierced to hold an ear-ring in different material.[19] 3001 is notable for the rendition of movement. The standard iconographic type at the site is a male figure with the arms held along the sides. Gestures, when attempted, are such that keep the arms close to the body. In this case the arm is extended outwards. The posture links 3001 to a small group of sculptures where a similar movement is attempted.[20]

3002. Head and upper part of body of statuette wearing conical headdress. (*Figs. 9a-b*).

a. Mended from three fragments.
b. Body wheelmade. Head ending in hollow tenon for insertion into body. Headdress, head and tenon thrown together in one piece. Arms solid, attached to body. Applied handmade pellets with interior modelling for ears. Added handmade nose, eyes and eyebrows. Somewhat broad incision to indicate parting of lips.
c. Wash. Traces of dark vertical line on left upper arm and of dark horizontal line at base of neck. Solid red on back of body.
d. Clay of Type C, 25–30%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 7.5YR 7/4; surface 5YR 7/6, 5YR 6/4; black 5YR 4/2; red 10R 4/6.
g. H: 19.7; W: 10.5.
h. Context missing.

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Fig. 10. A. I. 3003.

A peculiarity in 3002 is the use of a tenon to insert the head into the body. This is the way in which the heads of small size terracottas with wheelmade bodies are inserted into the body.

3003. Face and front part of neck of statuette (*Fig. 10*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Upper part of face missing. Exterior surface of mouth and chin missing.
b. Face and neck thrown together in one piece. Applied handmade pellet ears with internal partitions. Added clay for chin and mouth. Incisions indicating parting of lips. Handmade nose. Added lumps of clay for eyes, with contours merging with surface of face. Added arched eyebrows.
c. No wash. No paint. Some spatula marks on lower part of face and under side of nose. Finger striations on face. Finger prints on interior surface of neck.
d. Clay of Type B? mostly small inclusions, 10–15%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 10R 5/6, 10R 5/8, with variation; surface 2.5YR 6/6 (more orange).
g. H: 13.3; W: 11.0.
h. Context missing.

3004. Head of figurine wearing conical headdress (*Fig. 11*).
a. Restored from many small fragments. Lower part of face and most of neck missing.
b. All preserved part thrown together in one piece. Applied pellets of clay for ear; left ear divided in two sections. Handmade added nose. Lumps of clay for eyes, with smoothened out contours merging with surface of face. Added lumps of clay for eyebrows. Surface of back of head curves abruptly inwards indicating transition to neck.
c. Wash, partly effaced, creating strong visual effect. No paint.
d. Inclusions similar to clay Type B, 30–40%; very sandy texture.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/8–2.5YR 5/8; wash 5YR 8/3.
g. H: 8.7; W: 5.5.
h. Context missing.

3002–3004 form a group which finds parallels in some of the statuettes classified by Gjerstad in Type 4 of Large Human Idols (*SCE* II, pl. 238,3; Gjerstad 1963, fig. 50) and Type 3 of Small Human Idols (*SCE* II, pl. 229,4). They share with them the same technique and style of the face. Stylistically 3004 finds a very close parallel in 1503 (*SCE* II, pl. 229,4), which is dated by its stratigraphical context to Period 4. 3002–3004 show a strong interest in the rendering of isolated features of the face, which, nevertheless, does not lead to excessive stylization. The nose is strong. Added clay is used to render the eyes and eyebrows in relief; their contours rise at angles from the background of the face. The parting of the mouth is indicated, though carelessly, with an incision. 3002–3004 belong to the Archaic phase of the site (*Figs. 3–4*).

3005. Head and part of upper body of statuette wearing conical headdress and holding animal in arms (*Fig. 12*).
a. Left arm mended from several fragments.
b. Head, neck, and body wheelmade.[21] Arms solid.
c. Traces of wash (on animal). No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 5YR 7/4.
g. H: 13.9; W: 6.5.
h. Context missing.

Figurines holding animals with both arms as 3005 form a relatively frequent iconographic class within the Ajia Irini terracotta assemblage (e.g., *SCE* II, pl. 229,4, 8; 232,5, 8, 11).

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Fig. 11. A. I. 3004.

Fig. 12. A. I. 3005.

3006. Right side of neck and head of small figurine (*Figs. 13c, 14c*).
a. Mended from two fragments.
b. Head and neck thrown together in one piece. Nose, ear, chin (beard ?) and possibly surface of cheek added.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–2%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted).
g. H: 4.9; W: 2.5.
h. Context missing.

3007. Head of small figurine preserved from ears to base of neck (*Figs. 13a, 14a*).
a. Mended from several fragments.
b. Head and neck thrown together in one piece. Applied handmade ears and nose. Added clay for beard.
c. No wash. No paint. Finger striations.
d. Clay of Type A, 5–7%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
h. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 4.7; W: 4.0.
h. K10.

3008. Face and part of neck of statuette (*Figs. 13d, 14d*).
a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Head and neck thrown together in one piece. Nose handmade and added. Added clay for chin. Applied oval clay pellet for mouth with contours softly merging with background of face.
c. No wash. No paint. Few vertical incisions on neck.
d. Clay of Type A, 5–7%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 6.8; W: 5.2.
h. Context missing.

3009. Left side of head of statuette. Cheekpiece hanging down left side with end rolled up (*Figs. 13b, 14b*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Nose missing.
b. Head and neck thrown together in one piece. Applied handmade earflap, nose and pellet for mouth. Added thin layer of clay for ear; extra clay for chin.
c. No wash. No paint. Incisions on under side of beard. Finger striations, mainly on neck.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–2 %.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).

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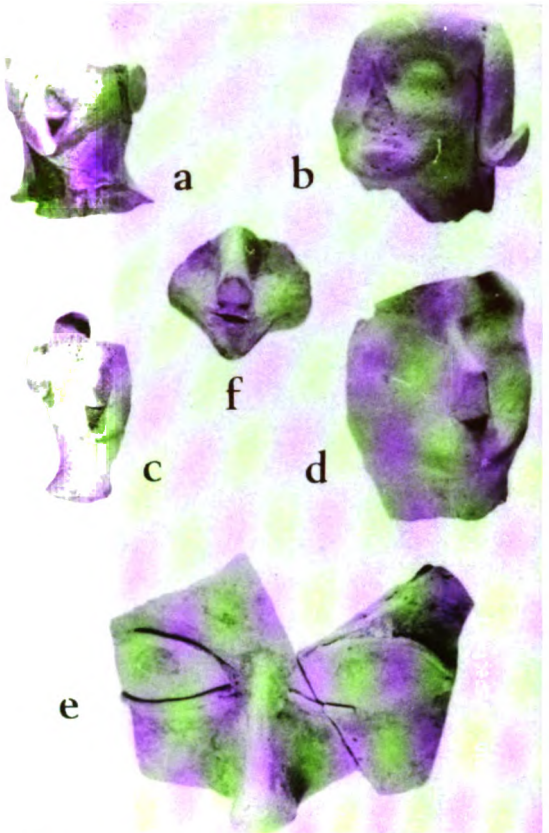

Fig. 13a–f. a: A. I. 3007 b: A. I. 3009 c: A. I. 3006 d: A. I. 3008 e: A. I. 3012 f: A. I. 3010.

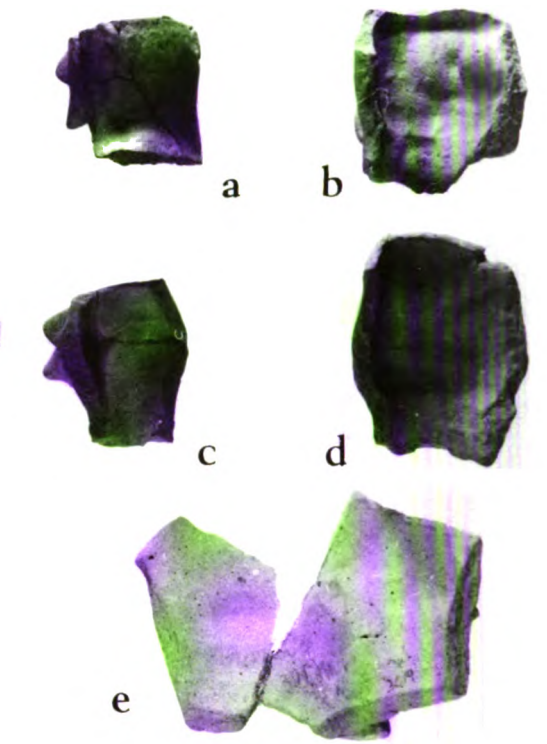

Fig. 14a–e. a: A. I. 3007 b: A. I. 3009 c: A. I. 3006 d: A. I. 3008 e: A. I. 3012.

f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 5.5; W: 5.3.
h. D4.

3010. Lower part of face of statuette, preserved from nose to chin (*Fig. 13f*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Interior surface abraded.
b. Most probably wheelmade. Applied handmade nose. Mouth indicated by incision. Extra clay for chin.
c. No wash. No paint. Incisions on under side of chin.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–2%.
e. Hardness 4.
f. Clay 10R 5/6.
g. H: 3.7; W: 4.1.
h. N8.

3011. Head of statuette with open spike at top (*Fig. 15a*).
a. Restored from large number of pieces. Top and left side of spike, back of neck and part of back of head missing. Left ear abraded and partly missing.
b. Neck, head and spike thrown together in one piece. Applied handmade ears. Added handmade nose. Extra clay for beard. Finger prints on interior of face.
c. Traces of wash. No paint. Finger striations predominantly on neck and under side of beard. Finger prints on interior of face.
d. Clay of Type A, 10–15%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 10R 5/6–10R 5/8.
g. H: 12.4; W: 7.0.
h. J9.

3012. Middle part of face of statuette (*Figs. 13e, 14e*).
a. Mended from two large fragments.
b. Wheelmade. Nose handmade. Flattened thin rolls of clay for eyelids. Nostrils not indicated.
c. Wash. Paint over wash. Skin painted red, eyes reserved, eyebrows and irises painted black.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–2%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 5YR 8/3–8/4; red 10R 5/8, 10R 5/6; black 10R 3/1.
g. H: 7.5; W: 10.3.
h. Context missing.

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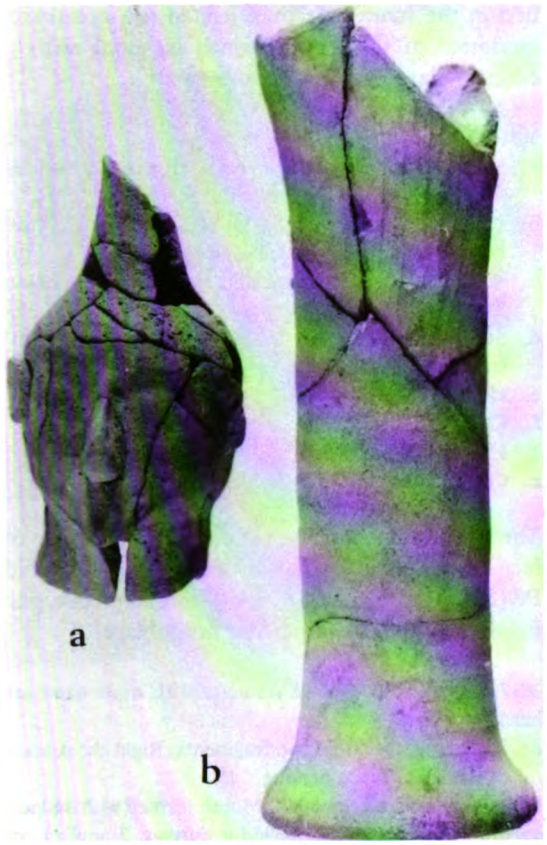

Fig. 15a–b. a: A. I. 3011 b: A. I. 3034.

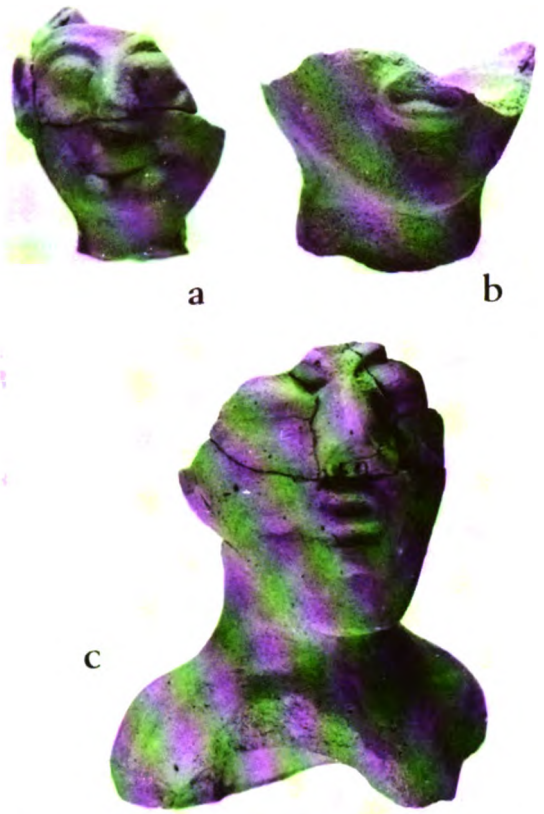

Fig. 16a–c. a: A. I. 3014 b: A. I. 3013 c: A. I. 3015.

3012 is notable for the preservation of paint. The convention of painting the color of the skin red is shared by 3000 and 3001. The rendering of the eyelids with thin flattened rolls of clay is typical for larger scale sculptures at Ajia Irini (e.g., *SCE* II, pls. 190, 191, 193,1–3, 194,1, 3–6, 196,1, 2, 5–8). Terracottas 3005–3012 are united by the use of a common clay, a common technique, and a common style. Gjerstad has grouped statuettes of this type under Type 2 of the Large Human Idols (*SCE* II, pl. 236,3–8; Gjerstad 1963, fig. 45), a type found mainly in the strata of Period 4 (*Fig. 3*). 3008–3012 share with the Type 2 statuettes the rounded structure of the face, the thin nose, the rendition of the mouth by a pellet and/or its indication with an incision, the slight indication of the eyebrows by pressing in the wheelmade unit that makes the head softly above the eyes, the use of soft cavities to make a gradual transition from one part of the face/head to the other. The modelling is careful, smooth, and results in a harmonious face. Statuettes of this type were produced in larger dimensions as indicated by 3010 and 1017+Suppl.No. 2806 (Gjerstad 1963, fig. 45). Gjerstad groups small size figurines which are versions of the Type 2 Large Human Idols in his Type 4 of Small Human Idols (e.g., *SCE* II, pl. 229,5), a type found predominantly in Period 4 (*Fig. 4*). Reduction in size, as in the case of 3005–3007, leads to a loss in detail and a more abbreviated modelling. Nevertheless, the stylistic features of the group which set it apart from other Human Idols – the roundness of the face, the very thin nose, the softness of modelling – are retained.

3013. Neck and lower part of face of statuette (*Fig. 16b*).

a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Thrown in one piece. Extra oval lump of clay for mouth with shallow longitudinal depression along middle. Added clay for chin.
c. No wash. No paint. Clay drips.
d. Clay of Type C, medium 7–10%. Inclusions visible to naked eye.
e. Hardness 3.

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f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 6.9; W: 8.3.
h. Context missing.

3014. Head and neck of statuette (*Fig. 16a*).
a. Restored from four fragments. Upper part and most of left side missing.
b. Head and neck thrown together in one piece. Extra lumps of clay added for chin, mouth, cheeks, eyes, eyebrows, nose and ear.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type B, 15–20%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 5 YR 7/4–5YR 7/6.
g. H: 7.5; W: 6.5.
h. M9 (face), L10 (back of head).

3015. Face and shoulders of statuette (*Fig. 16c*).
a. Mended from several fragments.
b. Body wheelmade. Arms solid, ending in clay tenons for insertion into body. Head and neck thrown together in one piece and placed over body.
c. No wash. No paint. Finger striations on beard.
d. Clay of Type B, 25–30%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; 2.5YR 6/8 (break).
g. H: 14.0; W: 12.1.
h. Context missing.

Despite differences in size 3013–3015 can be grouped together because they share a common technique and style. Gjerstad has classified statuettes of this type under his Type 4 of Large Human Idols (*SCE* II, pl. 238), most of which were assigned by their stratigraphical context to Period 4 (*Fig. 3*). 1025 (*SCE* II, pl. 238,2) and 1393 (*SCE* II, pl. 238,1) are very similar to the examples of our catalogue and form with them a subtype of Gjerstad's Type 4. 3014 shows that this sub-type was produced in a significantly smaller size. As a group, statuettes 3013–3015, 1025 and 1393 can be set apart readily from the rest of the terracottas of Ajia Irini by the style of the face. The facial features are strongly emphasized. In the most carefully made examples, as 3014, extra clay is added for the eyes, the cheeks, the chin and the mouth, which emerge as islands from the surrounding background of the face. The nose is strong and triangular. The eyebrows are rendered in relief; they meet in the middle and span the width of the side of the face from the nose to the ears. Most characteristic for the group is the stylization of the mouth, oval in shape, open, with thick lips and wide parting. 1323 (*SCE* II, pl. 238,3) and 1525 (*SCE* II, pl. 238,6), classified in the same type by Gjerstad, do not share this treatment of the mouth, which is, along with other criteria, diagnostic for this sub-type.

3016. Head of statuette (*Figs. 17a-b*).
a. Mended from three fragments, Top and left back side of head missing. Interior surface abraded.
b. Probably wheelmade. Coil joint on interior of forehead. Nose, ears and hair on left side handmade.
c. Wash preserved mostly on right side of face. No paint. Few finger prints on interior.
d. Small and round inclusions of Type A clay, but mostly non-transparent.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/8; wash 5YR 7/6; black 7.5YR 3/0.
g. H: 9.5; W: 8.8.
h. Context missing.

The softness of modelling and the organic unity of the face bring 3016 closest to terracotta sculptures of Style IV (*SCE* II, 213) (*Fig. 3*). I know of no precise parallel for this piece in the Ajia Irini assemblage.

3017. Fragmentary face of statuette with triple band around head (*Fig. 18a*).
a. Pieced together from two fragments. Right cheek and most of left side of face missing.
b. Wheelmade. Nose added. Mouth formed with added/gathered clay. Slightly modelled eyebrows. 3 applied rolls of clay for the bands.
c. No wash. No paint. Few finger prints on interior. Finger striations.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–2%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6–6/8.
g. H: 15.0; W: 10.0.
h. Context missing.

3018. Left upper side of face of statuette wearing fillet(?) bordered by row of running spirals (*Fig. 18b*).
a. Restored from two fragments.
b. Wheelmade. Extra slab of clay added on interior of upper left side (for extra support?). Nose added and carefully modelled. Applied handmade filet and spirals.
c. No wash. No paint. Finger striations.
d. Clay of Type A, 2–3%, with some vulcanic inclusions.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/8.
g. H: 9.0; W: 7.8.
h. P8.

3017 and 3018, both apparently from the same clay, are noted for their similarity in style, technique, and surface treatment. They stand closest in style to 1796 (*SCE*

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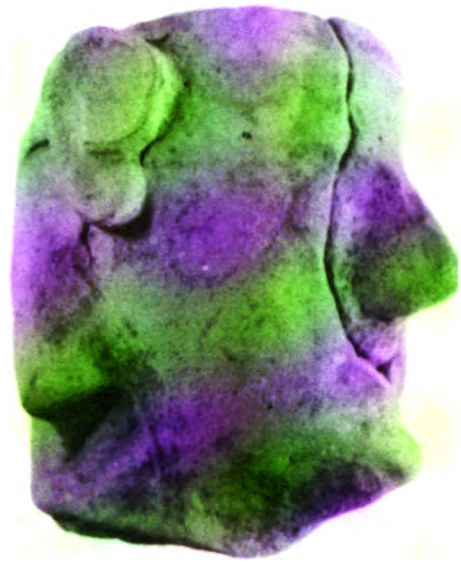

a

b

Fig. 17a–b. A. I. 3016.
Fig. 18a–b. a: A. I. 3017 b: A. I. 3018.

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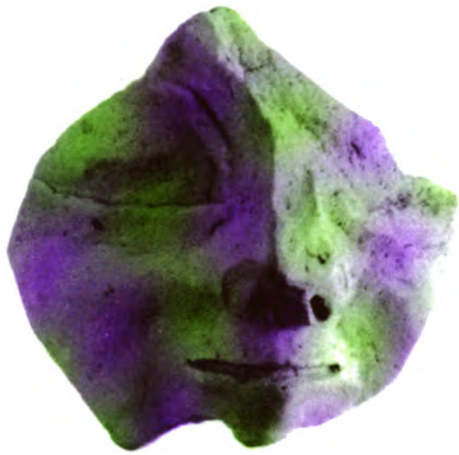

Fig. 19. A. I. 3019.

II, pl. 213,6), which is of Style IV. 1796 has also bands around the head instead of the conical headdress, which is standard for the sculptures from Ajia Irini. 1796 is assigned by its stratigraphical context to Period 4.

3019. Middle part of face of statuette (*Fig. 19*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Surface of left eye abraded; corner of right eye missing. Nose partly missing.
b. Wheelmade. Extra clay for nose, mouth and eyelids. Parting of mouth and nostrils indicated by incisions.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 2–3%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted).
g. H: 7.7; W: 7.8.
h. G8.

Not enough of the face survives to welcome confident comparisons. The harsh modelling finds parallels in the Proto-Cypriote (*SCE* II, pls. 189, 192,1–2) and the Cypro-Archaic styles (*SCE* II, pl. 220; Gjerstad 1963, fig. 34). The absence of an 'archaic smile' is decisive in assigning the piece to the Proto-Cypriote style.

3020. Front right side of head of statuette, preserved roughly from lower lip to below crown (*Fig. 20*).
a. Mended from three fragments.
b. Face moldmade. No clear traces of technique on interior surface of face.[22]
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Small and tiny type A inclusions, though mostly non-transparent 10–15%. Dots visible to naked eye.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 5YR 7/4 and 5YR 7/4–7/6.
g. H: 9.3; W: 5.4.
h. K10 (E7).

Molds are rarely used to cast the face of larger scale terracottas from Ajia Irini. The face of 1098+2796 (Gjerstad 1963, fig. 24) and 3020 come from the same mold.[23] Gjerstad assigns 1098+2796 to the Second Proto-Cypriote style.

3021. Left side of face of statue. Preserved from above eyebrow to below lips (*Fig. 21*).
a. Fragment in one piece.
b. No clear traces of technique on interior surface of face.[24]
c. No wash. Very faint traces of red paint on the lips.
d. Clay of Type A?, 3–5%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted); red 10R 4/6.
g. H: 8.7; W: 6.5.
h. Context missing.

The style pf 3021 is Neo-Cypriote. Sculptures in this style – Style V and VI (*SCE* II, pls. 216–218 – are first encountered in Period 5 (*Fig. 2*). The style is underrepresented in the larger scale terracottas from Ajia Irini.

3022. Face, part of hair and upper neck of statuette (*Fig. 22*).
a. Pieced together from three fragments. Part of left side of face missing.
b. Wheelmade. Nose, chin and possibly mouth added. Nostrils and parting of mouth indicated by carefully modelled grooves.
c. No wash. No paint. Few finger prints on interior. Surface of hair stamped (punctuated) with roughly circular point bearing internal oval partition.
d. Small squarish inclusions. Non-transparent dark grey and transparent/non-transparent vivid orange in color. Inclusions visible as black dots to the unaided eye, 7–10 %.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/8.
g. H: 10.0; W: 7.8.
h. K10.

3022 is the smallest statuette in Cypro-Archaic style from the site. It invites comparison with 2439 (*SCE* II, pl. 222,1). Both heads are thrown on a potter's wheel. They are made from clays which appear identical under the magnifying glass. The use of the same pattern for the rendition of the hair is an additional element in common. 2439 was found in the substructure of the Hellenistic shrine. Only three sculptures in Cypro-Archaic style were found in a primary context at Ajia Irini; they all belong to Period 6 (*Fig. 2*).

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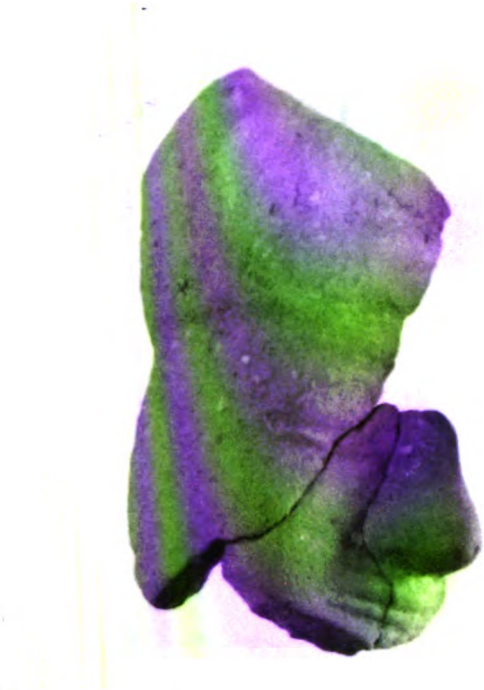

Fig. 20. A. I. 3020.

Fig. 21. A. I. 3021.

Fig. 22. A. I. 3022.

Fig. 23. A. I. 3023.

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3023. Left side of face and neck of statuette wearing fillet. Hair rendered in curls (*Fig. 23*).
a. Pieced together from two fragments.
b. Wheelmade. Nose, chin, ears and fillet added. Parting of mouth indicated by deep groove. Shallow groove separating eyeball from eyelids. Curls stamped.
c. Wash. No paint. Traces of red on mouth. Finger striations along neck and contours of eyebrows. Stamped decoration for hair.
d. Type A inclusions, small and round, 3–5%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 and 5YR 7/6–7/4; wash 10YR 8/3.
g. H: 9.8; W: 5.7.
h. M9.

The treatment of the eye is peculiar. I know of no parallel for it in the Ajia Irini terracottas in the collection of the Medelhavsmuseet.

3024. Upper right front side of head of statuette wearing wreath (*Fig. 24a*).
a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Interior surface abraded; no clear signs of technique. Wreath and left ear added. Eye contours defined with grooves; applied iris.
c. No wash. No paint. Few finger striations.
d. Type A inclusions, small and round, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted).
g. H: 6.2; W: 7.5.
h. Context missing.

3025. Right side of head of statuette wearing veil (?) (*Fig. 24b*).
a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Face and neck cast. Back of head probably made separately and added.
c. Wash; no paint. Use of sharp tool to make decorative pattern near ear. Finger prints on interior surface.
d. Medium and small inclusions, dark grey and red; some transparent grey; 10–15%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 10R 6/6; surface 5YR 7/4.
g. H: 11.8; W: 6.4.
h. Context missing.

The treatment of the eyes in both 3024–3025 is foreign to the Archaic terracottas from Ajia Irini or other Cypriote sites. At Mersinaki, a site which provides a longer and later terracotta sequence than Ajia Irini, the iris and the pupil are sculpturally marked in terracottas in Classical (Style IV) and Hellenistic (Style VI) styles.[25]

2. Solid

3026. Head of statuette (*Figs. 25a-b*).
a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Head solid; back unworked and uneven. Face cast in mold; no traces of reworking.
c. Wash. Traces of black, shiny paint. Finger striations, mainly on right side of face and below chin.
d. Clay of Type C?, 30–40%.
e. Hardness 4.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 10YR 8/4.
g. H: 12.3; W: 8.5.
h. Context missing.

The construction technique of 3026 is a point of interest. It is cast in a single-sided mold. The head is filled in with clay, instead of being left hollow to avoid breakage at firing. The style of the piece is Hellenistic. The beardless face looks very youthful.[26]

The lack of diagnostic pottery makes a more precise chronological placement of the Hellenistic stratum and, as a consequence, of 3024–3026 difficult.[27]

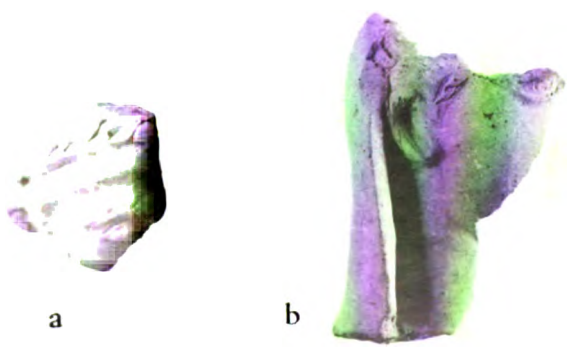

Fig. 24a–b. a:A. I. 3024 b: A. I. 3025.

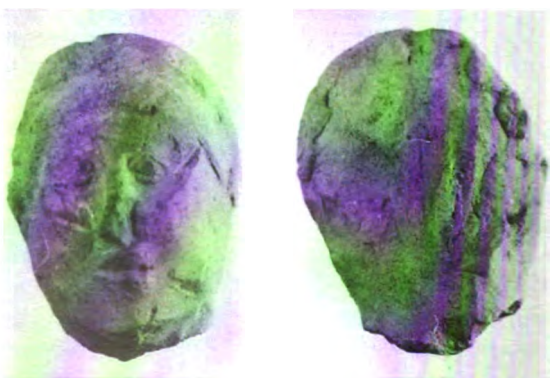

Fig. 25a–b. A. I. 3026.

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Fig. 26a. A. I. 3027.

Fig. 26b. A. I. 3027.

B. Fragments from bodies

1. Larger scale terracottas

Upper and lower bodies of large scale terracottas were built and fired separately and assembled together after firing. Holes were made into the joining surfaces of the two connecting parts, through which passed pegs which kept them in place.

3027. Upper body of terracotta with left arm bent at elbow and resting on body (*Figs. 26a-c*).

a. Mended from several fragments.

b. Body wheelmade in one piece. Neck thrown separately and placed over head. Right arm, apparently handmade,

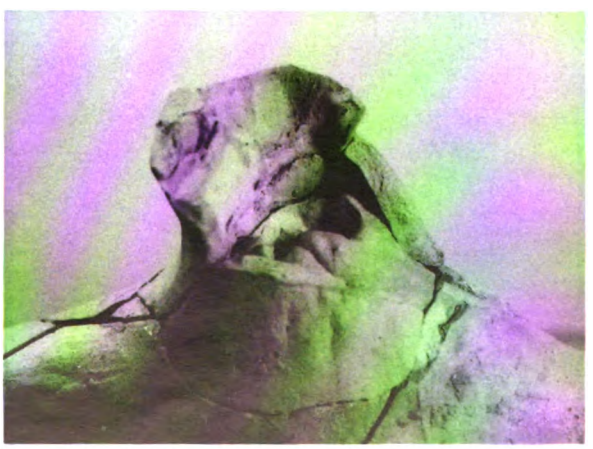

Fig. 26c. A. I. 3027.

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built over body. Small hole at center of base on front side.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Small and some medium in size round and non-transparent grey inclusions; 10–15%.[28]
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 5YR 7/6, 7.5YR 7/4–7/6.
g. H: 43.0; W: 20.8.
h. K10 (E7).

3027 is very similar in technique and iconography to 2436, which was found in the layers of Period 6 (*SCE* II, Section I). The head does not survive in either 3027 or in 2436. The placement of the arm across the figure's abdomen is seen in sculptures of the Second Proto-Cypriote (Style III, *SCE* II, pl. 209,1; Style IV, *SCE* II, pl. 213,8) and the Neo-Cypriote (Styles V and VI; *SCE* II, pls. 215,4; 217, 218) styles.

Fig. 27. A. I. 3028.

3028. Lower part of body of statue. Girdle and side-flaps. Slight oval projection in the center (*Fig. 27*).
a. Mended from several pieces.
b. Probably wheelmade, perhaps in one piece. Handmade horizontal table at upper end with handmade hollow projection in center. Holes on front and back side of projection. Upper half of ventilation hole at lower back.
c. Wash. Projection with dark dot in center; outline of projection painted dark.
d. Clay of Type A, 3–5%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6–6/8, 2.5YR 6/6; wash 7.5YR 7/4–8/4; paint 5YR 6/2.
g. H: 50.5; table: 20.8 × 22.0
h. Context missing.

3028 ends in a horizontal plate over which the upper body was placed. A hollow tenon projecting upward from the center of the plate kept the upper body from slanting. There are other examples of larger scale terracottas which are built in this way, such as 909 (Gjerstad 1963, fig. 51) and 1848 (*SCE* II, plan 18, square K9).

3029. Front upper part of lower body of lifesize statue. Side flat (left), girdle at waist and 9 concentric ridges falling down on front side (*Fig. 28*).
a. Mended from several fragments. Most of interior abraded.
b. No signs of technique on interior. Probably, at least partly, thrown.

Fig. 28. A. I. 3029.

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Fig. 29a. A. I. 3030.

Fig. 29b. A. I. 3030.

c. Traces of wash. Some incisions on sides. Spatula marks and clay drips on interior.
d. Clay of Type A, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 7.5YR 7/4.
g. H: 32.5; W: 29.5.
h. K7 (E4).

The side flaps are actually the edges of an upper garment. This is clear if one examines smaller size terracottas built in one piece rather than assembled from two parts after firing. Several examples define the dress more clearly (*SCE* II, pls. 95,2; 205,2; 207,3; 233,4). Unlike 3028, 3029 has no plate on which the upper body would have been placed.

2. Medium size terracottas

Medium size statuettes were fired in one piece. 3030–3035 illustrate different ways in which their bodies were built.

3030. Left side of upper body and part of left arm of statuette. Arm along side *(Figs. 29a-b)*.

a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Arm wheelmade. Lower part of body wheelmade. Upper part coiled – 6 rows of clay. Part of ventilation hole at back.
c. Wash bath. Spatula marks and some incisions, predominantly near arm. Traces of red paint on arm. Traces of black paint near neck.
d. Medium and large brown and dark grey inclusions, 15–20%. Inclusions visible to naked eye.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 10R 6/6; wash 7.5YR 8/4; red 10R 5/4, 5R 5/6; black 10R 3/1.
g. H: 24.0; W: 15.6.
h. Context missing.

The style and morphology of technique of 3030 is characteristic of a group of statuettes executed in the Cypro-Archaic style (Gjerstad 1963, figs. 31, 32a, 34).

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Fig. 30a. A. I. 3031.

Fig. 30b. A. I. 3031.

3031. Part of right side of upper body of statuette. Arm along side; three armbands. Sleeve of garment indicated in relief (*Figs. 30a-b*).

a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Wheelmade; side pressed in and folded close to form arm. Extra strings of clay added to form edge of sleeve and armbands.
c. Wash. No paint. Finger prints on back of arm.
d. Round inclusions of Type A, mostly non-transparent; 20–25%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 5YR 7/6–7/4.
g. H: 21.3; W: 9.3.
h. Context missing.

3032. Upper body of statuette. A 'shawl' with tassels (animal paws?) worn underneath left arm and over right shoulder (*Figs. 31a-b*).

a. Mended from several fragments. Both arms and most of back missing.
b. Wheelmade in one piece. Widening at shoulders; hollow armpits. Arms solid.
c. Wash bath. No paint.
d. Clay of Type C, 40–50%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 7.5YR 8/2.
g. H: 23.2; W: 21.0.
h. Context missing.

The type of clay, the use of a wash, the absence of spatula marks and incisions, and the shawl, worn without a fringed border, place this figurine in Gjerstad's Type 4 of Large Human Idols relating to figurines such as 1323 (*SCE* II, pl. 238,3).

3033. Body of statuette with arms along sides (*Fig. 32*).

a. Broken at left arm. Lower part of body missing.
b. Body wheelmade to above armpits, then coiled. Small cavities for arms. Arms hollow. Hands solid, modelled by hand. Neck wheelmade and placed over body.
c. No wash. No paint. Some added thin layers of clay on back.
d. Clay of Type B?, 5–7%.
e. Hardness 3.

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Fig. 31a. A. I. 3032.

Fig. 31b. A. I. 3032.

f. Clay 2.5YR 5/6, 2.5YR 6/6–5/6.
g. H: 29.4; W: 12.8.
h. Context missing.

3033 is built in a technique standard for the terracottas from the site. Although the clay appears to be that of Type B, 3033 finds no satisfactory parallel in the published terracotta statuettes. It is dressed in what appears to be a long sleeved garment, which is atypical for the terracottas from Ajia Irini. Moreover, the hands of 3033 are rendered in a naturalistic way, which contrasts sharply with their simplistic (e.g., *SCE* II, pls. 193,2; 196,2, 8; 205,1, 2), abbreviated (e.g., *SCE* II, pls. 236,3–8; 238,3), or stylized (e.g., *SCE* II, pl. 238,8) rendering in other statues and statuettes. In 3033 the hands are thin, the fingers naturally bent, the surface of each hand uneven.

3034. Cylindrical body of statuette preserved up to chest (*Fig. 15b*).

a. Mended from several fragments.
b. Wheelmade. Circular ventilation hole cut in back; only lower part preserved.
c. Wash bath (?). No paint. Vertical incisions and spatula marks on upper part. Finger prints on interior surface of upper part.
d. Clay of Type A, 10–15%.
e. Hardness 4.
f. Clay 10R 5/6; wash 5YR 8/2.
g. H: 23.1; D: 8.0 (base).
h. J9.

The type of clay, the slender proportions of the body, the form of the wheelmade part – the rim at the base, the broadening of the body close to the area of the shoulders – and the use of incisions and spatula marks on the upper part of the body are characteristic of Type 2 Large Human Idols and place confidently the fragment in this group. 3009 and 3034 were found in the same square, belong to the same type of statuette, and are

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Fig. 32. A. I. 3033.

compatible in proportions. It is probable that they present fragments of the same terracotta.

3035. Body of statuette with arms along sides. Pellet breasts (*Figs. 33a-b*).

a. Mended from several pieces. Lower part missing.
b. Body handmade, solid. Attached handmade, solid arms.
c. No wash. No paint. Some clay drips on back.
d. Clay inclusions similar to type B, 10–15%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 5YR 6/4.
g. H: 16.0; W: 11.6.
g. Context missing.

Unlike statuettes in this size which are built hollow, 3035 is solid.

Fig. 33a. A. I. 3035.

Fig. 33b. A. I. 3035.

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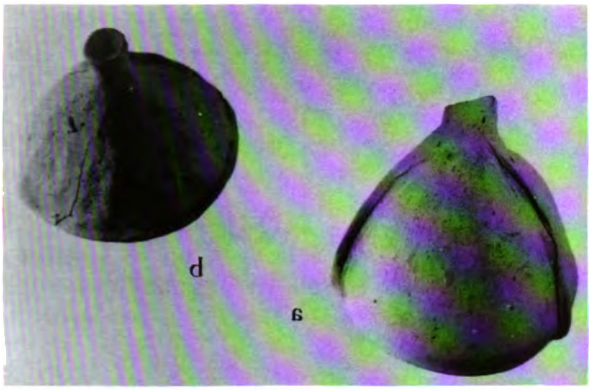

Fig. 34a–b. a: A. I. 3036. b: A. I. 3037.

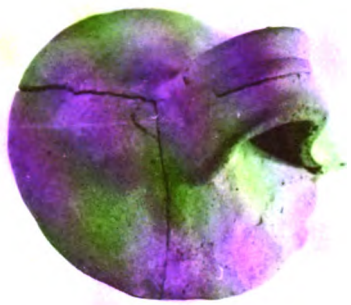

Fig. 35. A. I. 3038.

C. Headdresses

All headdresses belong to statuettes in the class of Large Human Idols. The simple conical headdress illustrated by 3036 and 3037 is typical for the terracottas from the site and for Cypriote sculpture of the Archaic period. There are cases in which the headdress was built in one piece with the head (e.g., *SCE* II, pl. 236,4–6). 3036–3038 were built separately and added subsequently.

3036. Conical headdress. Line in relief along each side. Projection on top (*Fig. 34a*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Most of back and projection on top missing.
b. Wheelmade. Ventilation hole on top back side. Projection and lines in relief handmade.
c. Wash. Paint on back side of left line.
d. Clay of Type A, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 10R 6/8; wash 7.5YR 8/4; black 2.5YR 4/0.
g. H: 10.2; D: 10.5–11.1.
h. K10.

3037. Conical headdress; straight short knob with flat edge on top (*Fig. 34b*).
a. Part of rim missing. Cracked in three areas.
b. Handmade, hollow.
c. Homogeneous surface color. Finger prints. Few finger striations.
d. Clay of Type B, 15–20%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Surface 10YR 8/3.
g. H: 7.3; D: 9.7.
h. Context missing.

3038. Flat headdress with tassel (?) in centre bent towards back. Short line in relief along middle of tassel (*Fig. 35*).
a. Mended from two fragments.
b. Handmade, solid.
c. No wash. No paint. Finger striations.
d. Clay of Type A, 5–7%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 6.1; D: 10.1; L: 10.9.
h. Context missing.

II. FREE STANDING FIGURINES

A. Fragments preserving the head

3039. Upper half of figurine wearing conical headdress (*Figs. 36b, 37b*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Right arm missing, left side of body missing. Nose and chin chipped off.
b. Body formed by wheelmade cylinder, with base at figure's chest. Arm solid, handmade and added. Head, most probably solid, built up past base of wheelmade cylinder. Nose probably pinched. Eyebrows modelled. Horizontal oblique lines from nose to sides of face.
c. Red paint on body and headdress; black on beard, eyelids and iris.
d. Clay of Type A, 15–20%.
e. Hardness 3 (soft).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/8–2.5YR 6/6; red 10R 4/6; black 10R 4/1.
g. H: 11.3; W: 5.5.
h. P8, statue floor.

One notes the peculiar horizontal oblique lines on the sides of the figure's face, which might be part of the headdress. There are examples of figurines from Ajia Irini with wheelmade body and handmade face and head, in which, unlike 3039, the head is formed sepa-

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Fig. 36a–b. a: A. I. 3040 b:A. I. 3039.

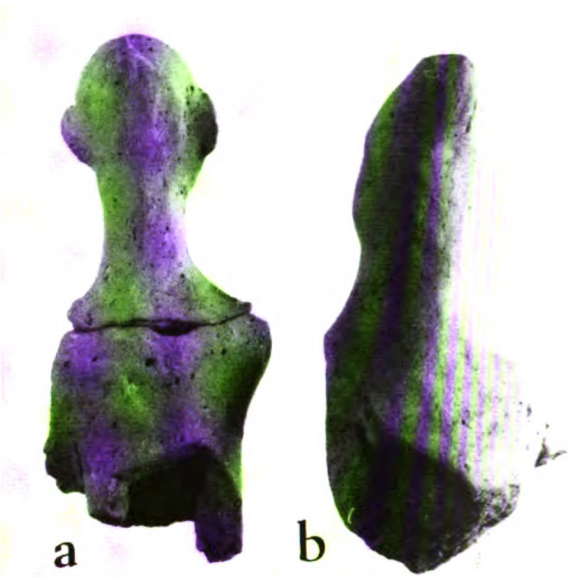

Fig. 37a–b. A. I. 3040 b: A. I. 3039.

rately and inserted into the body with a tenon. The building technique of 3039 appears to be unique for the site.

3040. Upper half of figurine. No headdress. Oval body (*Figs. 36a, 37a*).

a. Mended from two pieces; broken below neck. Both arms missing.
b. Face cast in mold. Back of head handmade. Body wheelmade and flattened. Head and neck attached to body without tenon.
c. No wash. No paint. Relatively few finger striations, mainly on back of head.
d. Clay of Type A, 3–5%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted).
g. H: 11.4; W: 4.7.
h. K8 (head); N9 (body).

The face of 3040 was cast in a mold, attested for the first time at Ajia Irini. The modelling is soft, the cheeks are full and rounded. One notes the placement of the ears on a receeding plane, parallel to the plane of the face. This is a feature encountered in a sub-group of moldmade terracottas in Cypriote styles.[29] The very long neck and the round shape of the face find a parallel in a handmade terracotta (554) from Campanopetra.[30]

Figurines with a moldmade face have a wheelmade body, circular in section (*SCE* II, pl. 232,6–14). The head ends in a clay tenon with which it is inserted into the body. 3040 presents peculiarities in the morphology of this construction pattern. The body was forcefully flattened at the chest. Moreover, the head does not end in an tenon; instead, it terminates in a flat surface, which was attached onto the body. This construction gave a poor binding for the two parts and the piece broke in two fragments at the joint. Figurines without headdress, as 3040, are rare in the terracotta assemblage of Ajia Irini.

3041. Upper body and head of figurine wearing conical headdress. Cylindrical body, left arm along side, though detached from body. 'Shawl' with horizontal edge on upper body and arms (*Figs. 38a-b*).

a. Body pieced together from many fragments. Broken at neck. Right arm missing.
b. Solid, handmade. Nose and ears added. Eyebrows slightly modelled.
c. No wash. No paint. Few finger striations.
d. Clay of Type A, 2–3%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; 2.5YR 6/4 (lighter).
g. H: 15.3; W: 4.9.
h. K10.

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3041 falls in Types 5 and 6 of Gjerstad's Small Human Idols, which were mostly found in the layers of Period 4.

3042. Head of figurine. Three vertical tresses on either side of face. Three horizontal tresses above forehead (*Fig. 39*).
a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Face cast in mold. Back of head modelled by hand. Head ending in handmade tenon for insertion into body.
c. Wash on head. Brown paint on hair, the eyes and neck.
d. Tenon low in inclusions.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 5YR 7/4; wash 10YR 8/3; brown 2.5YR 4/2, 5YR 4/2
g. H: 6.1; W: 3.5; T: 2.9 (nose to back).
h. Context missing.

3042 was cast in the same mold as 2172, which was found in the layers of Period 5. The body of 2172 (*Fig. 40*) is wheelmade and forcefully flattened along the front side, as it is the case with 3040.

B. Fragments of bodies

3043. Cylindrical body of figurine with splayed base and arm along side (*Fig. 41*).
a. Fragment in one piece. One arm completely missing.
b. Solid, handmade. Added handmade solid arms.
c. Black band around base. Surface covered with incrustations.
d. Clay of Type A, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; black 2.5YR 4/0.
g. H: 15.3; W: 4.8.
h. Context missing.

This fragmentary piece is typical of small size figurines of Types 5 and 6. The body is cylindrical and has a splayed base so that the figurine can stand. The band around the base is also typical.

3044. Upper part of body of figurine. Arms probably along sides. Triangular 'vest'/'shawl' on front (*Fig. 42a*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Arms missing.
b. Solid, handmade. Arms and 'shawl'/'vest' made separately and added.
c. Surface covered with incrustations. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 8.2; W: 7.8.
h. M9, statue floor.

The rendering of the dress should be noted in this example. Small size figurines from Ajia Irini are usually

Fig. 38a–b. A. I. 3041.

Fig. 39. A. I. 3042.

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Fig. 40. A. I. 2172.

Fig. 41. A. I. 3043.

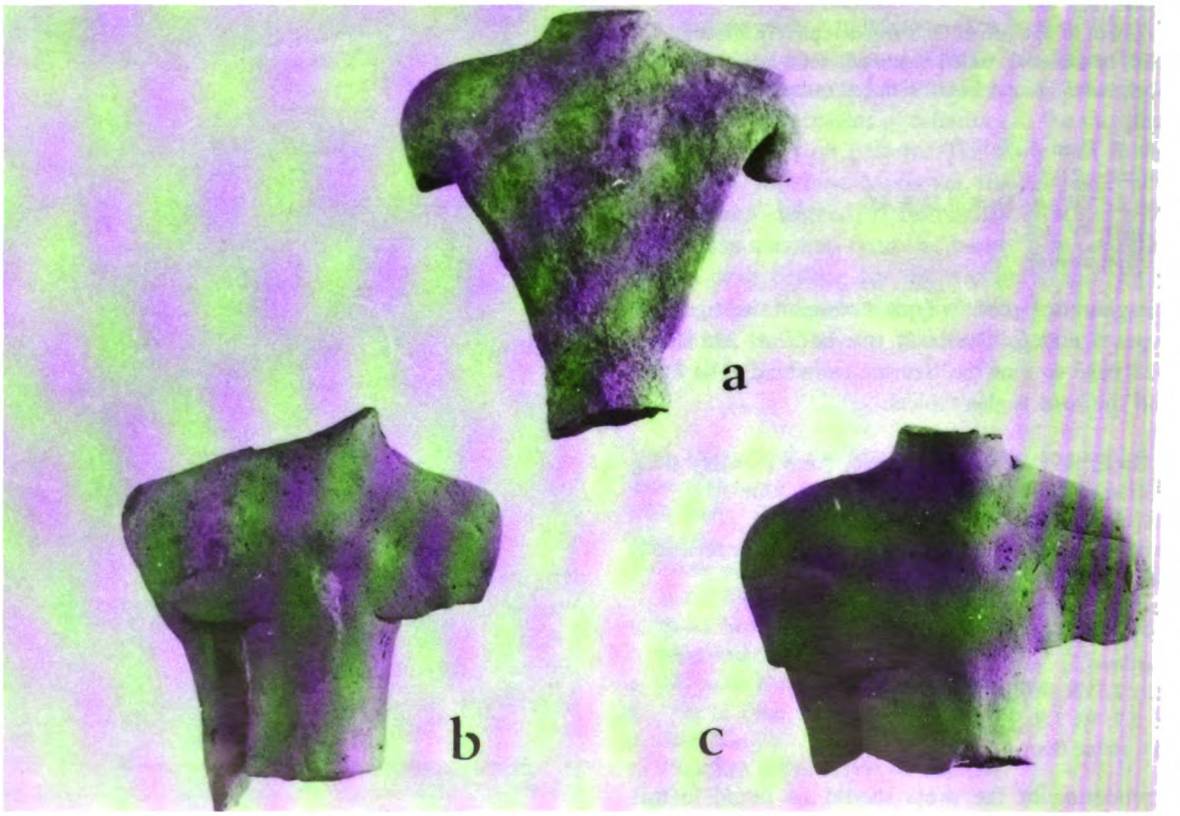

Fig. 42a–c. A. I. 3044 b: A. I. 3045 c: A. I. 3046.

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very abbreviated without any details of the garment. The rather slender proportions of the body are particular to a class of figurines, which also share the same structure of the face (e.g., *SCE* II, pl. 232,1). In all probability, the face of 3044 was similar to that of 3041.

3045. Upper part of body of figurine. Right arm along side.
a. Fragment in one piece. Left arm missing (*Fig. 42b*).
b. Solid, handmade. Handmade solid arms made separately and attached to body.
c. Wash, mostly effaced. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–3%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 5YR 8/4.
g. H: 8.0; W: 7.2.
h. Context missing.

3046. Upper body of figurine (*Fig. 42c*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Left and lower right arm missing.
b. Body wheelmade; handmade arms, formed separately and attached to body. Clay tenon in interior.
c. Wash. No paint. Finger striations on body.
d. Clay of Type A, 2–5%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 7.5YR 7/4.
g. H: 6.6; W: 7.9.
h. M9, statue floor.

The figurine had a moldmade face. The type of clay from which it is made excludes the use of a mold similar to 1032 (*SCE* II, pl. 232,7). The lost face might have been cast in a mold similar to 1499 (*SCE* II, pl. 232, 9) or 874 (*SCE* II, pl. 232,12). Figurines such as 1499 and 874 are made from clay of Type A very low in inclusions, as 3046.

3047. Standing female figurine wearing high-girdled chiton. Left arm leaning against pillar; right arm held low across body to touch animal. Animal stretches diagonally across figure's body (*Figs. 43a-b*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Head and lower part missing.
b. Cast in double-sided mold.
c. Thin layer of wash (?). No paint. Some finger prints on interior.
d. Fine clay with almost no inclusions.
e. Hardness 1.
f. Clay 5YR 7/6.
g. H: 8.9; W: 5.6.
h. Context missing.

Gjerstad reports only one terracotta from the Hellenistic strata of the site, which forms Type 16 in his typology of Small Human Idols.[31] 3047 dates from the re-use of the site in the Hellenistic period. The head of 3047 is

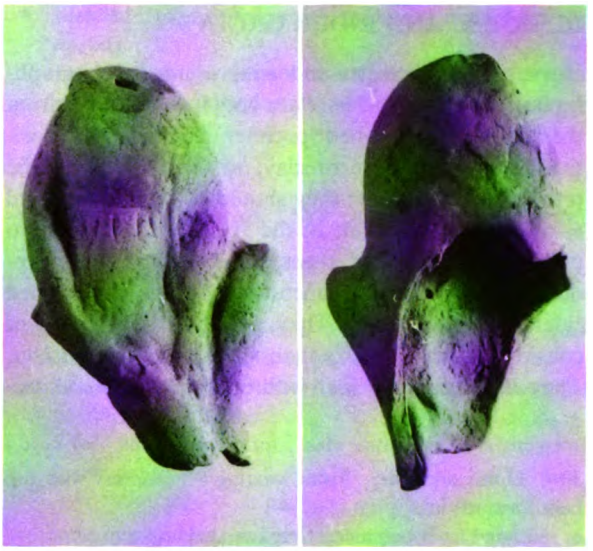

Fig. 43a–b. A. I. 3047.

missing. The mold is much worn to allow a closer stylistic date for the piece on the treatment of the drapery. 3047 compares well in pose and iconography with two stone sculptures from Pyla, which represent Artemis.[32]

In the Greek world representations of Artemis with a deer and fawn start with the early Classical period and appear to be exclusive dedications in sanctuaries where a cult of Artemis was practiced.[33] In Cyprus there are several sculptures in stone depicting the goddess as a hunter. They come from the sanctuaries at Pyla, Malloura and Kazaphani and range in date from the Hellenistic to the early Imperial periods.[34] Examples in terracotta illustrated by Ohnefalsch-Richter come from the temenos at Achna and from tombs at Kourion.[35] Several fragmentary terracottas representing Artemis as hunter or dadophoros come from the depôt at Amathous and are dated stylistically to the end of the first century B.C.[36] None of the Amathousian types gives a good iconographic parallel for 3047.

Artemis was venerated in Cyprus, to judge by a digraphic inscription in the Greek alphabet and the Cypriote syllabary from Paphos commemorating the building of a temple of Artemis Agrotera by Nikokles, the king of Paphos.[37] Theophoric names compounded with Artemis form part of the onomasticon of Ptolemaic Cyprus;[38] they give additional, though indirect, evidence for the popularity of the goddess on the island.

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III. HORSE AND RIDER GROUPS

Horse and riders are an under-represented iconographic class at Ajia Irini. There are only four examples from the site.[39] The published specimens can be linked positively, either by style or clay, to the the rest of the terracotta assemblage; they should be best understood as attempts on the part of the Ajia Irini coroplasts to produce iconographic types standard and more frequent in other Archaic sanctuaries.[40] Four unpublished riders are listed below. They are all handmade and of considerably smaller size than those already published. They do not compare well with their published counterparts.

3048. Horse and rider. Rider wearing a headdress with top bent forwards in a spiral (*Fig. 44*).

a. Mended from two pieces; broken at riders neck.
b. Group solid and handmade. Rider and horse formed separately.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A with larger red inclusions visible to the naked eye; 10–15%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.

Fig. 44. A. I. 3048.

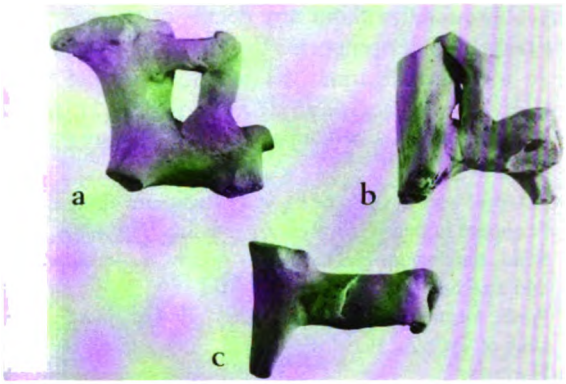

Fig. 45a–c. a: A. I. 3049 b: A. I. 3050 c: A. I. 3051.

g. H: 12:0; W: 4.8 (shoulders).
h. Context missing.

3049. Horse and rider (*Fig. 45a*).

a. Fragment in one piece. Head of rider missing. Legs, mane and part of head and tail of horse missing.
b. Group solid and handmade. Rider and horse formed separately.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted).
g. H: 7.0; W: 3.5 (horse), 2.5 (rider); L: 9.3.
h. Context missing.

The horses of 3048 and 3049 are similar in style.

3050. Horse and rider group (*Fig. 45b*).

a. Fragment in one piece. Head of rider missing. Horse's forelegs and right hindleg partly missing; left hindleg completely missing. Head of horse missing.
b. Group solid and handmade. Horse and rider made separately.
c. No wash. Black paint on the rider. Vertical black lines on the neck of horse; red on legs and front side; black on trunk.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–3%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 5YR 7/4–7/6; red 7.5R 5/6; black 7.5R 4/0, 3/0.
g. H: 6.9; W: 3.6 (horse), 1.9 (rider); L: 6.7.
h. Context missing.

3050 is small and carefully made. Horse and rider groups of such small size and general appearance are typical for the terracotta assemblage of the male sanctuary at Campanopetra. 3050 invites comparisons with the more carefully executed riders from the Campanopetra assemblage[41] in its small and slender proportions,

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the placement of the hands high up on the horse's neck and the abbreviated rendition of the flap-like legs.

3051. Fragmentary horse and rider group (*Fig. 45c*).
a. Only lower part of rider's legs survive. Head of horse and all but front left leg missing.
b. Horse solid and handmade. Rider's legs added.
c. No wash. Traces of solid red paint on body of horse. Some finger prints. Some finger striations on under side of horse.
d. Clay of Type A, 2–3%.
e. Hardness 2.
g. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; red 5R 5/6.
g. H: 5.3; W: 3.1; L: 7.7.
h. Context missing.

The body of the animal is thin and the proportions realistic. One notes the use of solid red on the horse.[42]

IV. FRAGMENTS FROM CHARIOT GROUPS

A. Anabates and charioteers

1. Fragments preserving the head

Figurines forming part of chariot groups were made separately and placed in the chariot box. Their lower bodies are shortened and usually end in forms other than the standard splayed base of the free standing figurines. The gesture of the arms, often outstretched, the pose of the head, sometimes tilted backward or forward, and the relative smallness of size are atypical for free standing figurines; they are used as additional criteria in deciding whether fragmentary figurines belong to chariot groups.

3052. Small figurine with cylindrical body, splayed base and arms along sides. No headdress (*Figs. 46a, 47a*).
a. Mended from two fragments; broken above waist. Right and lower left arm missing.
b. Solid, handmade. Arms, nose and ears added.
c. Traces of wash, mostly on back. No paint. Finger striations.
d. Clay of Type A, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6, 2.5YR 6/8; wash 7.5YR 7/4.
g. H: 10.5; W: 3.7.
h. Context missing.

3052 stands close in style to the figurines on chariots 804+944+1338 (Gjerstad 1963, fig. 15) and 2388+Supp.No. 2791 (Gjerstad 1963, fig. 14).

3053. Small figurine with cylindrical body, splayed base and arms along sides. Headdress broken off; contours of band traceable at back of head (*Figs. 46b, 47b*).
a. Mended from two fragments; broken at neck. Right arm missing.
b. Solid, handmade. Surface of body undulating. Arms added. Applied handmade ears and nose.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 2–3 %.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; break 2.5YR 6/6 (edge), 10R 5/1 (core).
g. H: 12.0; W: 4.3.
h. Context missing.

3054. Figurine with cylindrical body and arms along sides. Pointed beard, three bands around head (*Figs. 46c, 47c*).
a. Mended from two pieces; broken at neck. Lower part missing; nose missing.
b. Solid, handmade. Arms, ears and headdress separately made and added.

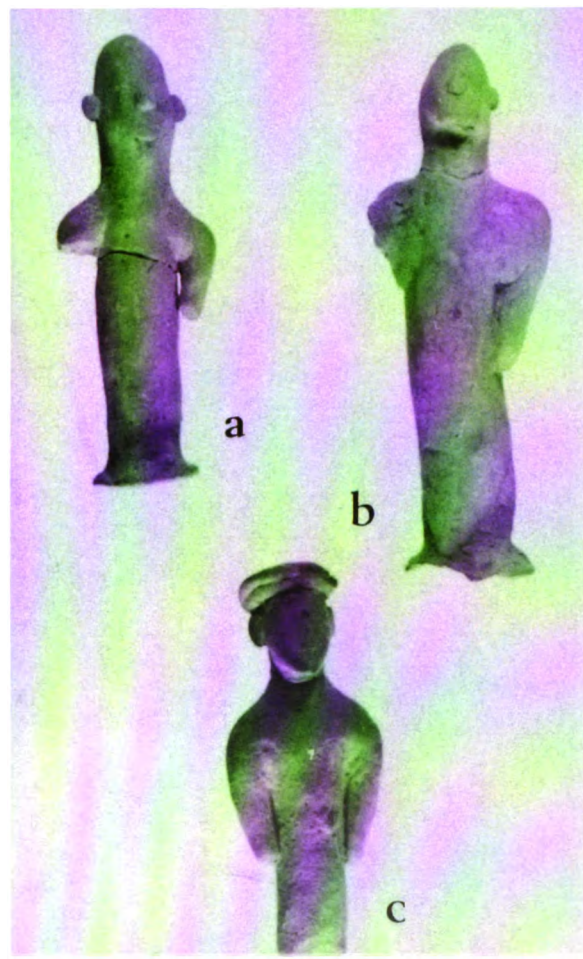

Fig. 46a–c. a: A. I. 3052 b: A. I. 3053 c: A. I. 3054.

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c. No wash (local discoloration of clay). No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 5–7%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6–6/8.
g. H: 9.3; W: 3.7.
h. Context missing.

It is not clear whether 3052–3054 formed part of chariot groups or whether they were free standing – 3052 and 3053 have a splayed base and can stand on their own. Their small size suggests that they might have been anabates, standing at the back of the chariot as on chariots 1779 and 1781+798 (*SCE* II, pl. 235,3). Free standing figurines from Ajia Irini are generally larger in size.[43]

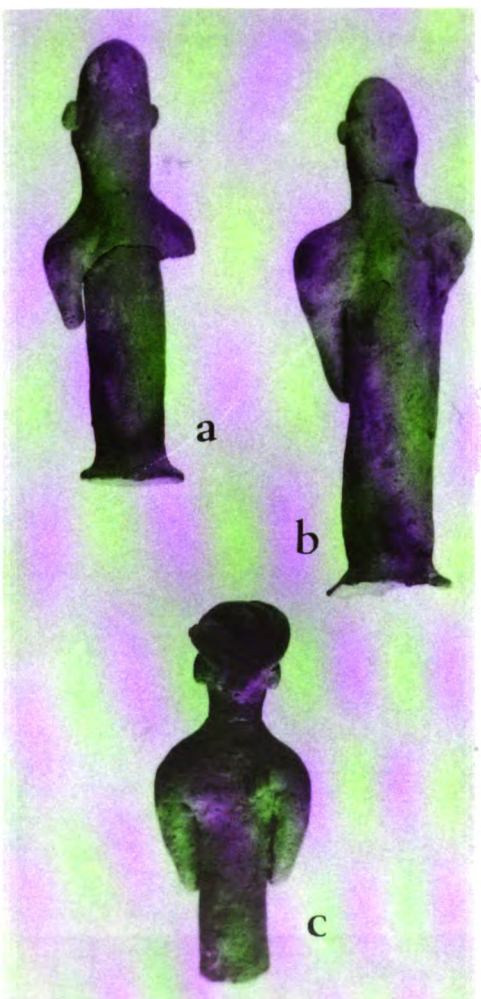

Fig. 47a–c. a: A. I. 3052 b: A. I. 3053 c: A. I. 3054.

Most of the sculptures from Ajia Irini wear a conical headdress. Terracottas wearing bands around the head, as 3054 and, probably 3052, do occur, though less frequently. There are examples from chariot groups (e.g., *SCE* II, pl. 234,2–3) and among free standing figurines (e.g., *SCE* II, pl. 232,3–5). Figurines without a headdress, as 3052, are very rare.

3055. Upper part of figurine wearing conical helmet with hanging cheek pieces. Left arm extended, holding round shield with central boss. Shield covers left side of figurine (*Figs. 48a-b*).
a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Solid, handmade. Applied nose, edge of helmet and cheekpieces. Added handmade shield with applied boss. Finger prints, mostly on under side of shield.
c. No wash; localized discoloration on right side. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6–6/8.
g. H: 6.4; W (max): 6.2; D (shield): 5.6.
h. Context missing.

I know of no free-standing figurines from Ajia Irini which hold the shield high up to protect their body. There are figurines from chariot groups in similar pose (e.g., *SCE* II, pl. 235,4)

3056. Anabates, with conical headdress and pointed beard. Arms along sides. Body ends abruptly at level of hands (*Figs. 49a, 50a*).
a. Figurine in one piece.
b. Handmade, solid. Body oval in section.
c. Wash, mostly effaced. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–2%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 5YR 8/4.
g. H: 8.0; W: 3.4.
h. Context missing.

3056 is notable for its very small size. The structure of the face is very similar to 3005 and 3006.

3057. Figurine with conical headdress ending in soft tassel that hangs at back. Up-turned cheekpieces. Arms most likely stretched outwards. Body terminates abruptly below waist (*Figs. 49b, 50b*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Arms missing.
b. Handmade, solid. Headdress, ears, nose and arms made separately and added.
c. Probably no wash. No paint. Finger prints on lower end.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–2%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6, surface (back) 5YR 7/6–7/4.

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Fig. 48a. A. I. 3055.

Fig. 48b. A. I. 3055.

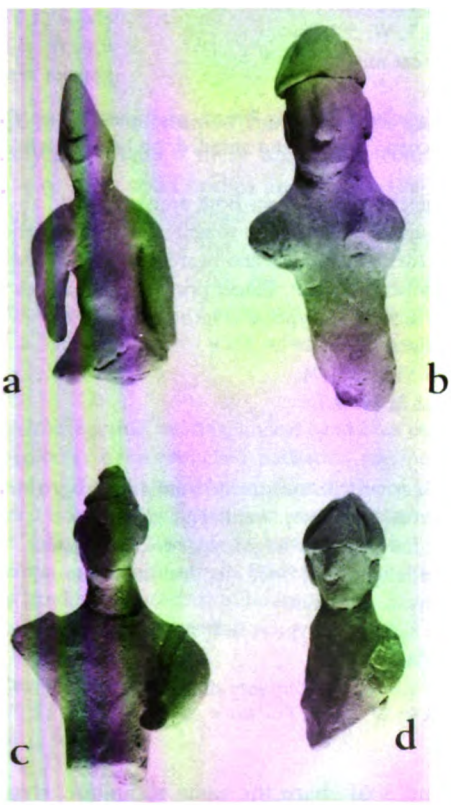

Fig. 49a–d. a: A. I. 3056 b:A. I. 3057 c: A. I. 3059 d: A. I. 3058.

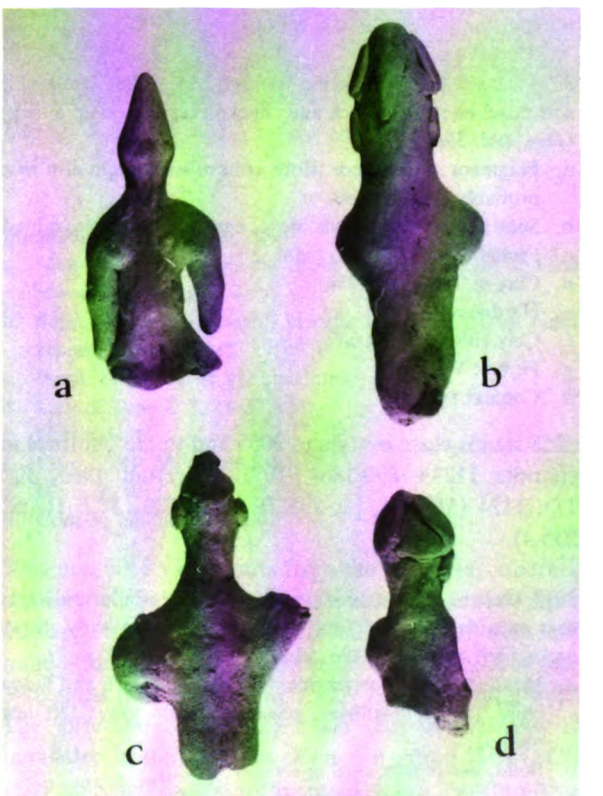

Fig. 50a–d. a: A. I. 3056 b:A. I. 3057 c: A. I. 3059 d: A. I. 3058.

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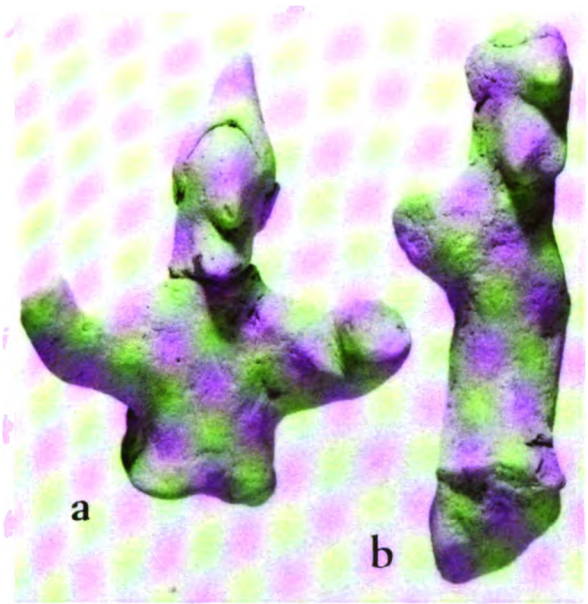

Fig. 51a–b. a: A. I. 3061 b: A. I. 3060.

g. H: 9.9; W: 3.8.
h. K-L10.

3058. Upper part of figurine wearing conical headdress with soft tassel hanging at back and cheekpieces turned up at sides (*Figs. 49d, 50d*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Both arms missing; right arm most probably outstretched.
b. Solid, handmade. Arms, nose, ears and headdress added.
c. Probably no wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 5–7%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 10R 6/8, 10R 6/6.
g. H: 6.6; W: 2.6.
h. Context missing.

3058 stands close in style to 3055 and to the figurines in chariots 1123+789+1864+1971 (Gjerstad 1963, fig. 11), 1124 (*SCE* II, pl. 235,2), and 1170 (*SCE* II, pl. 235,4).

3059. Upper half of statuette wearing conical headdress. Right arm extended upwards, left arm bent towards body. Strap around left arm (*Figs. 49c, 50c*).
a. Mended from three fragments; broken at neck and below chin. Tip of headdress, nose, right and lower left arm missing.
b. Solid, handmade, oval in section.
c. Traces of wash, mainly on the back. No paint.
d. Clay similar to Type A in inclusions, 5–7%.
e. Hardness 2.

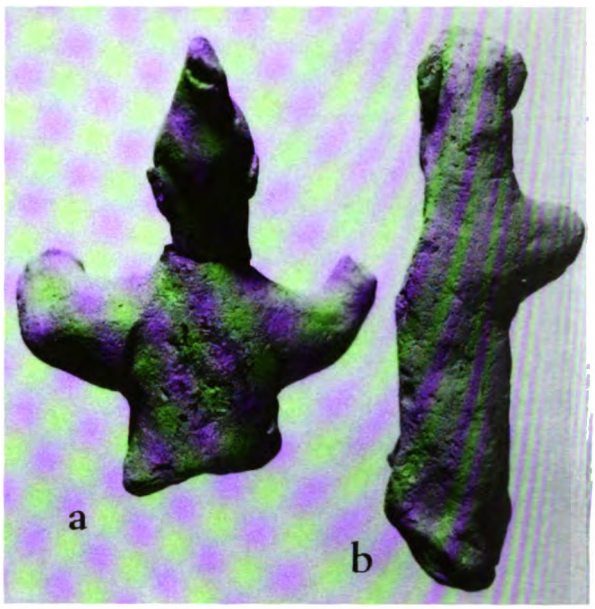

Fig. 52a–b. a: A. I. 3061 b: A. I. 3060.

f. Clay 2.5YR 6/8; wash 5YR 7/4.
g. H: 8.3; W: 5.2.
h. Context missing.

3060. Figurine with long beard, prominent nose. Right arm outstretched. Top of head abraded; no headdress? (*Figs. 51b, 52b*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Both arms missing.
b. Handmade, solid, body roughly circular in section. Arms and ears added, nose and beard probably pinched out.
c. No wash. No paint. Finger prints on lower back end.
d. Clay similar to Type A in inclusions, 5–7%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 5YR 7/6–7/4.
g. H: 11.2; W: 3.3.
h. M9

3061. Figurine with outstreched arms wearing conical headdress. Prominent nose, beard (*Figs. 51a, 52a*).
a. Mended from two fragments; broken at neck.
b. Solid, handmade, body elliptical in section.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay similar to Type A in inclusions, 5–7%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (but very diluted) and 5YR 7/4–7/6.
g. H: 8.9; W: 7.2.
h. M8.

3060 and 3061 share the same technique, structure of face and clay. They find no good stylistic parallel in the published chariot-groups from the site.

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3062. Upper half of figurine wearing conical headdress with hanging cheekpieces. Arms along sides, head tilted backwards. Round pellets for eyes (*Fig. 53*).

a. Mended from two fragments; broken at neck. Nose, tip of headdress and lower arms missing.
b. Solid, handmade, body roughly circular in section.
c. No wash. No paint. Clay drips.
d. Clay of Type B, 20–25%.
e. Hardness 3.
h. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 9.7; W: 5.0.
h. Context missing.

The figurine is stylistically different from any of the charioteers/anabates in published chariot groups. *Fig. 54*, also from a chariot group, gives a good parallel.[44]

3063. Figurine from chariot group. Arms outstretched (*Figs. 55a-b*).

a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Face cast in mold. Back of head handmade. Body tapering at lower end. Body light (hollow?).
c. No wash. No paint. Finger prints on lower back.
d. Clay of Type B, 15–20%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 16.8; W: 4.9.
h. Context missing.

Figurines in chariot groups from Ajia Irini are either completely handmade – these are made from clay of Type A – or have solid bodies and moldmade faces.[45] The head of the 3063 was cast in the same mold as the heads of the figurines of the chariot group 1998 (*SCE* II, pl. 235,5; Gjerstad 1963, fig. 9), which were also made of clay of Type B. There are free standing figurines (*SCE* II, pl. 232,6–8) with a face cast in a mold as 3063.

3064. Bearded figurine wearing conical headdress with hanging cheekpieces. Arms stretched outwards, missing. Lower part of body differentiated into legs (*Fig. 56b*).

a. Mended from two pieces; broken at neck. Arms missing.
b. Head solid. Back formed by hand; face cast in mold; headdress and beard added. Body solid and handmade. Arms handmade, attached to body.
c. Wash. No paint. Finger striations.
d. Clay of Type C?, 25–30%.
e. Hardness 4.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6, 10R 5/8; wash 10YR 8/3.
g. H: 13.1; W: 5.1.
h. P8.

3065. Bearded figurine wearing conical headdress with hanging cheekpieces. Arms outstretched. Lower part of body differentiated into legs (*Fig. 56a*).

Fig. 53. A. I. 3062.

a. Mended from two pieces; broken at neck. Right and left lower leg missing.
b. Solid, handmade, roughly circular in section. Arms made separately and added.
c. Wash. No paint. Finger striations.
d. Clay of Type C ?, 25–30%.
e. Hardness 4.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 10YR 8/4.
g. H: 15.9; W: 5.2.
h. Context missing.

3064 and 3065 were made from the same clay, share a common surface treatment, are identical in technique and appearance, and their face was cast from the same mold – the mold is attested for the first time. 3064 and 3065 most probably belong to the same chariot group. The differentiation of the lower part of the body is paralleled in the figurines of chariot group 1998 (*SCE* II, pl. 235,5; Gjerstad 1963, fig. 9); it is a feature which appears to be restricted to chariot figurines with moldmade faces.

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Fig. 54.

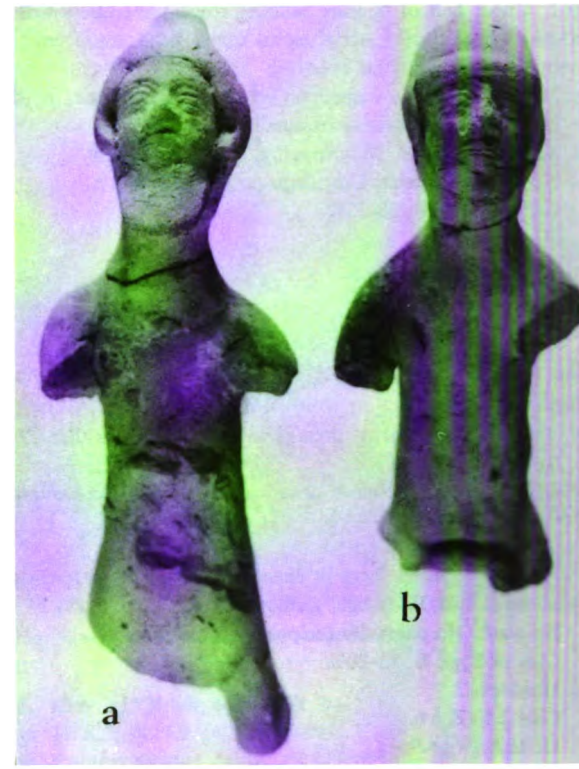

Fig. 56a–b. a: A. I. 3065 b: A. I. 3064.

Fig. 55a. A. I. 3063.

Fig. 55b. A. I. 3063.

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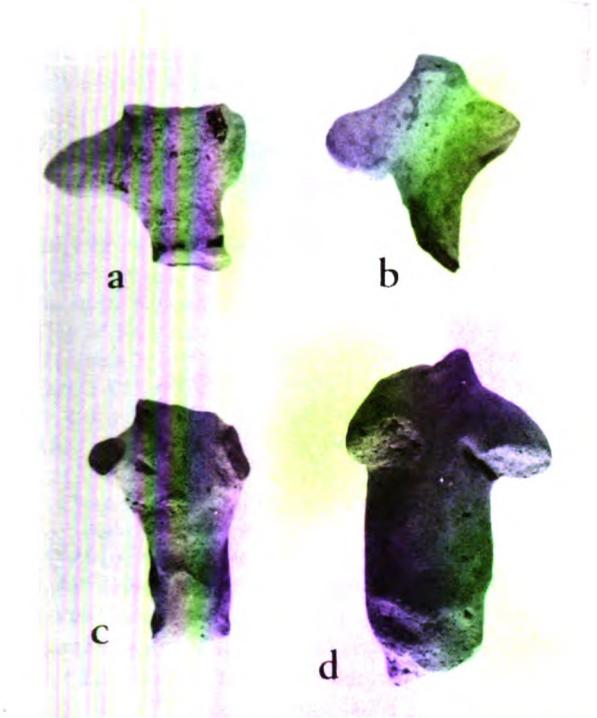

Fig. 57a–d. a: A. I. 3069 b: A. I. 3068 c: A. I. 3067 d: A. I. 3066.

2. Bodies

3066. Body of figurine. Arms probably extended forwards (*Fig. 57d*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Both arms missing.
b. Solid, handmade, roughly circular in section. Arms added. Body preserved to actual height.
b. No wash. No paint. Finger prints at lower back.
d. Clay of Type A, 10–15%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 9.2; W: 5.3.
h. Context missing.

3067. Body of figurine. Arms probably outstretched (*Fig. 57c*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Arms missing. Body preserved to actual height.
b. Wheelmade body. Arms solid, handmade, attached to body.
c. Wash, surviving in localized area on neck. No paint. Finger striations. Finger prints on lower back.
d. Clay of Type A, 10–15%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 10R 6/6, 2.5YR 5/8; wash 5YR 8/3.
g. H: 6.8; W: 4.2.
h. Context missing.

3067 merits attention for having been thrown on a potter's wheel. The fragment preserves a small fraction of the neck, which was thrown in one piece with the body. The wheelmade body was reshaped when the clay was still moist and nothing on its exterior surface betrays its construction technique. Only its weight suggests that it is hollow.

3068. Body of statuette. Right arm curved towards body (*Fig. 57b*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Lower part and left arm missing.
b. Solid, handmade, elliptical in section. Undulating surface.
c. Wash. No paint. Finger prints on back. Finger striations on front.
d. Clay of Type A, 2–3%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/8; wash 10YR 8/4.
g. H: 5.9; W: 5.2.
h. Context missing.

3068 belongs along with 3056 to the smallest figurines from the site.

3069. Upper body of figurine. Right arm stretched outwards (*Fig. 57a*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Left and lower right arm missing.
b. Solid, handmade, circular in section.
c. Wash. Decoration in dark brown paint. Four horizontal bands on body; band around arms; only traces survive.
d. Clay of Type C, 25–30%.
e. Hardness 3 (hard).
f. Clay 10R 6/4; wash 7.5YR 8/4–7/4; brown 5YR 4/2.
g. H: 4.6; W: 5.3.
h. K10.

3069 merits inclusion for the painted decoration preserved on its body. The arms were probably extended. The figurine might belong to a ring dance or a chariot group. Figurines from chariot groups in small size are normally made from clay of Type A.

B. Chariot bodies

3070. Part of front and left side of chariot body (*Fig. 58*).
a. One piece. Cracked on upper front.
b. Hollow. Sides and floor made by adding lumps of clay; two joints visible on left side and on floor.
c. No wash. No paint. Finger prints, predominantly on interior.
d. Clay of Type A, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 8.0; W: 7.8; L: 7.5.
h. Context missing.

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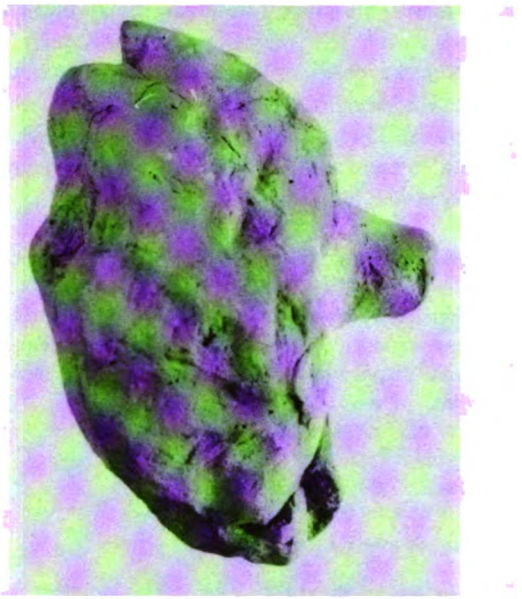

Fig. 58. A. I. 3070.

C. Chariot wheels

Carts are not represented in the terracotta assemblage of Ajia Irini.[46] The disks listed below (3071–3079) represent wheels from chariots. Chariot wheels from Ajia Irini include two types: the solid block-wheel and the spoked wheel. These are either thrown on a potter's wheel or modelled by hand. The chariots rest on plates. The wheels are attached to the sides of the chariot body without railing.

1. Positively identified fragments

3071. Chariot wheel with hollow raised boss (*Fig. 59a, 60a*).
a. Mended from three pieces. Small part at edge missing. Center of interior side missing.
b. Formed by joining two wheelmade disks on top of each other.
c. Probably no wash. No paint. Decoration in brown. Boss painted solid. Band around rim. Four concentric circles on the outer surface; 6 concentric circles on inner surface.
d. Clay of Type B?, 20–25%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Surface 5YR 6/4–6/6; paint 2.5YR 4/2.
g. D: 8.9.
h. L10.

Wheels on Ajia Irini chariots consist of one plate, which is wheel- or handmade. 3071 is an oddity in having been formed by joining two wheelmade plates face to face. Wheels found during the French excavations at Kition *Bamboula* are constructed in this way.[47] The decoration on 3071 is atypical for Ajia Irini chariots, which have unpainted wheels. Gjerstad reports only one painted chariot group, 2000 (*SCE* II, 748), with wheels of red felloe and blue hubs.

3072. Chariot wheel with raised hub and 8 spokes indicated in relief (*Figs. 61a, 62a*).
a. Mended from two pieces.
b. Handmade, solid.
c. No wash. No paint. Few finger striations.
d. Clay of Type A, small inclusions; 20–25%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted).
g. D: 10.0.
h. Context missing.

1993+2378+2314 has also 8-spoked wheels (*SCE* II, 747f.). There are chariots with 9- (Gjerstad 1963, fig. 9), with 7- (*SCE* II, pl. 235,3), and with 5-spoked wheels (Gjerstad 1963, fig. 10). In all these examples the spokes are separated by cut out interstices. In 1782 (*SCE* II, 741) the spokes are painted.

3073. Chariot wheel with flat hub and 10 spokes indicated in relief (*Figs. 61b, 62b*).
a. Mended from two pieces. One-fourth of rim and small part between consecutive spokes missing.
b. Handmade, solid.
c. No wash. No paint. Few finger striations.
d. Clay of Type A, small inclusions 20–25%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted).
g. D: 10.4.
h. Context missing.

3074. Chariot wheel with raised hollow hub and flat surface (*Figs. 63a, 64a*).
a. Complete.
b. Wheelmade.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 20–25%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/8.
g. D: 11.9.
h. Context missing.

3075. Chariot wheel with slightly raised hub and flat surface (*Figs. 63b, 64b*).
a. Mended from two pieces. Almost one-third missing.
b. Wheelmade.
c. No wash. No paint.

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d. Clay of Type A, 25–30%.
e. Hardness 4.
f. Clay 10R 5/6.
g. D: 10.5.
h. Context missing.

3076. Chariot wheel and part of axle on interior side (*Figs. 59b, 60b*).
a. Edge of wheel missing.
b. Wheel and axle solid, wheelmade.[48]
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. D: 6.9; L: 7.1.
h. K8.

3077. Chariot wheel with part of axle on interior side. Flat surface, slightly convex (*Figs. 61c, 62c*).
a. Complete. Slightly chipped at rim.
b. Solid, made by rotation on a potter's wheel.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–2%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6–6/8.
g. D: 8.3.
h. Context missing.

3078. Chariot wheel with part of axle on interior side. Flat surface, slightly convex (*Figs. 61d, 62d*).
a. Complete.
b. Solid, handmade.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, small and round inclusions, 15–20%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. D: 5.5.
h. Context missing.

3079. Chariot wheel with cavity for axle. Flat surface, slightly convex (*Figs. 61e, 62e*).
a. Complete.
b. Solid, handmade.
c. Homogeneous surface color. No paint.
d. Clay of Type C, 25–30%.
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Surface 5YR 8/4, 5YR 7/4.
g. D: 8.0.
h. Context missing.

2. Chariot wheels or shields

The disks 3080–3088 are flat or slightly convex, some with a small projection in the center. Their interior side is either plain, or has lumps of clay used for attachment. It is not clear whether the disks served as wheels of chariot groups or shields. Those smaller in size should probably be regarded as shields.[49]

3080. Chariot wheel or shield with raised hub/boss. Slightly convex surface. Small depression at the centre of interior (*Figs. 63e, 64e*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Two-thirds missing.
b. Rim worked with hand. Smoothness of surface and regularity of layering of clay along breaks suggest rotation on potter's wheel.
c. Wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 25–30%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 10YR 8/3.
g. L (preserved) 6.3; R (radius): 4.3.
h. Context missing.

3081. Chariot wheel or shield with raised hub/boss. Slightly convex surface (*Figs. 63c, 64c*).
a. Mended from two parts. Small part along rim missing.
b. Solid, handmade. Clay lumps on interior side for attachment in roughly triangular arrangement.
c. Wash. No paint. Few finger striations.
d. Clay of Type A, small and round inclusions; 20–25%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 7.5YR 7/4–8/4.
g. D: 11.0.
h. M9.

3082. Chariot wheel or shield with raised hub/boss. Slightly convex surface (*Figs. 63d, 64d*).
a. Complete.
b. Handmade, solid. Clay lumps on interior side for attachment in roughly triangular arrangement.
c. Wash. No paint. Some finger striations.
d. Clay of Type C, 25–30%.
e. Hardness 4.
f. Surface 10YR 8/3.
g. D: 9.0.
h. Context missing.

3083. Chariot wheel or shield. Flat surface. Round pellet in the centre to indicate hub/boss (?) (*Figs. 63g, 64g*).
a. Complete.
b. Handmade, solid. Two lumps of clay on interior side for attachment.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 2–3%.
e. Hardness 4.
f. Clay 10R 5/6.
g. D: 7.6.
h. Context missing.

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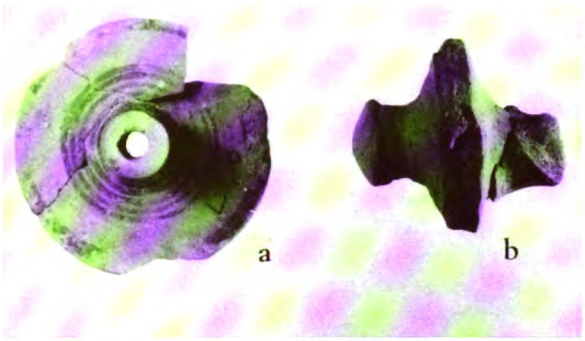

Fig. 59a–b. a: A. I. 3071 b: A. I. 3076.

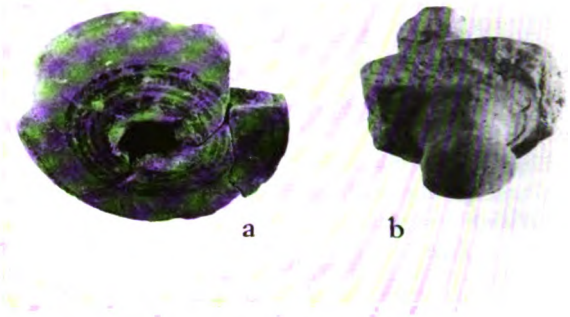

Fig. 60a–b. a: A. I. 3071 b: A. I. 3076.

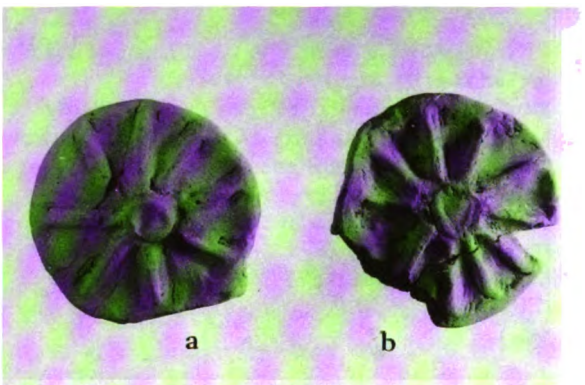

Fig. 61a–b. a: A. I. 3072 b: A. I. 3073.

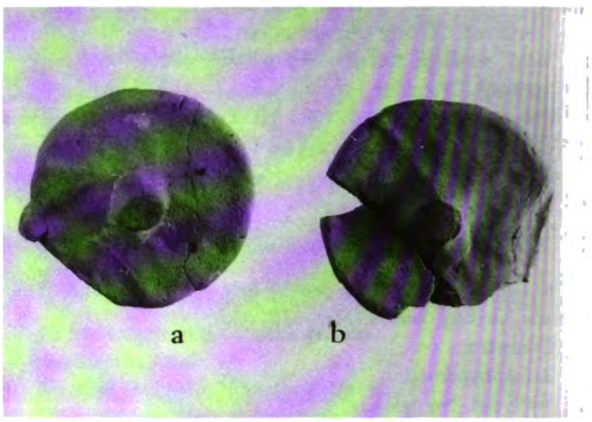

Fig. 62a–b. a: A. I. 3072 b: A. I. 3073.

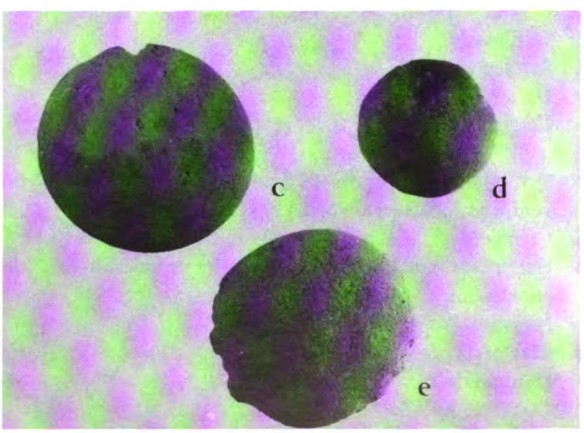

Fig. 61c–e. c: A. I. 3077 d: A. I. 3078 e: A. I. 3079.

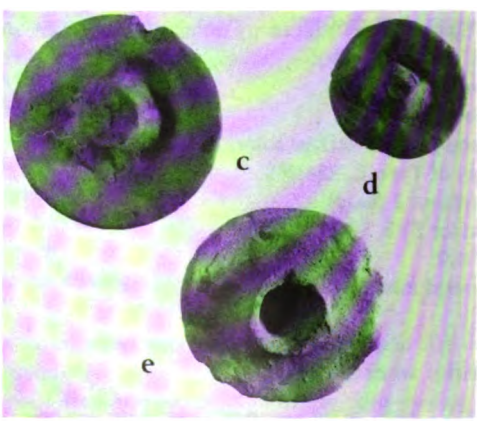

Fig. 62c–e. c: A. I. 3077 d: A. I. 3078 e: A. I. 3079.

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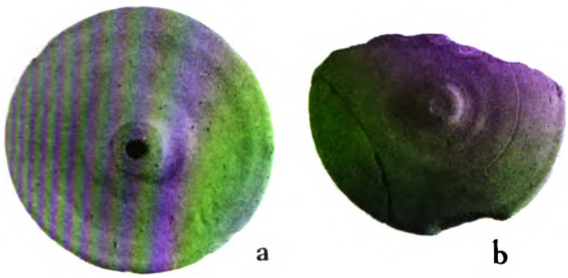

Fig. 63a–b. a: A. I. 3074 b: A. I. 3075.

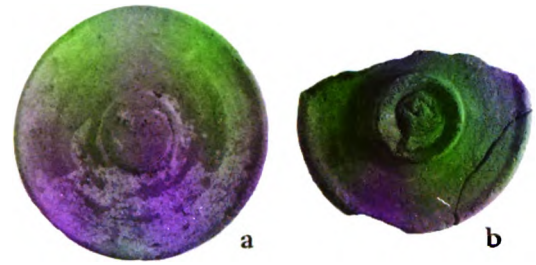

Fig. 64a–b. a: A. I. 3074 b: A. I. 3075.

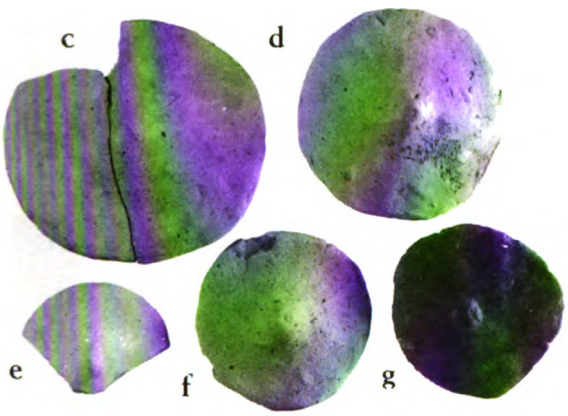

Fig. 63c–g. c: A. I. 3081 d: A. I. 3082 e: A. I. 3080 f: A. I. 3084 g: A. I. 3083.

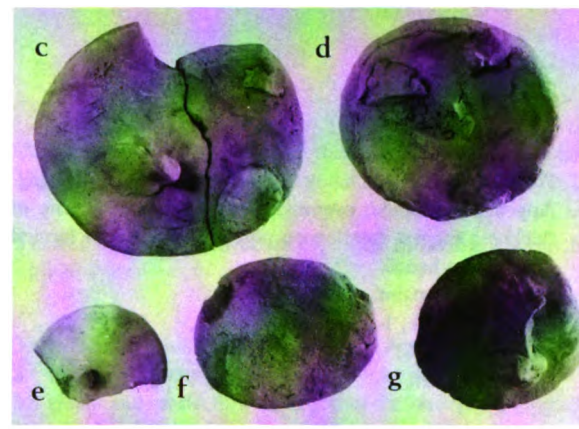

Fig. 64c–g. c: A. I. 3081 d: A. I. 3082 e: A. I. 3080 f: A. I. 3084 g: A. I. 3083.

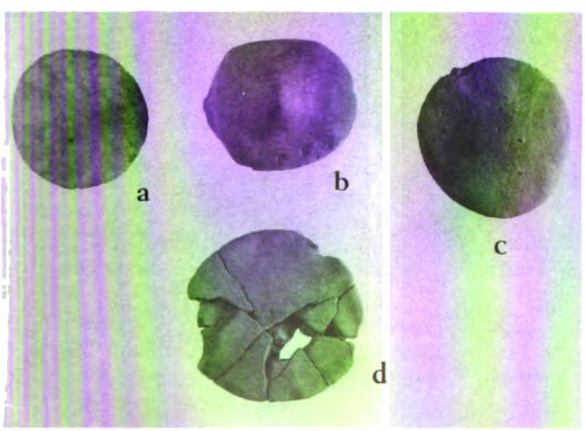

Fig. 65a–d. a: A. I. 3087 b: A. I. 3085 c: A. I. 3088 d: A. I. 3086.

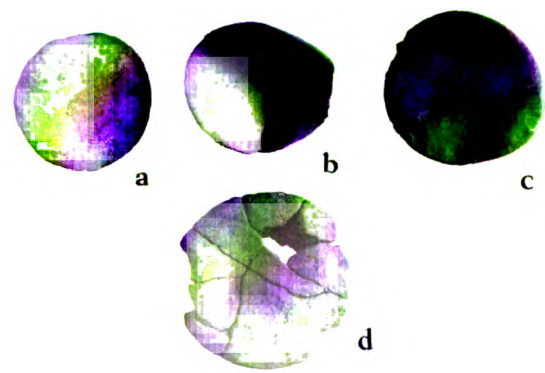

Fig. 66a–d. a: A. I. 3087 b: A. I. 3085 c: A. I. 3088 d: A. I. 3086.

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3084. Chariot wheel or shield with projecting hub/boss on exterior side (*Figs. 63f, 64f*).
a. Complete. Slightly chipped on one side. Traces of clay lump on interior side, presumably used for attachment.
b. Handmade.
c. No wash; localized discoloration on interior side. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 20–25 small and round inclusions.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/8 (diluted).
g. D: 7.7.
h. Context missing.

3085. Chariot wheel or shield with projecting hub/boss on exterior side. Exterior surface convex (*Figs. 65b, 66b*).
a. Complete.
b. Handmade.
c. No wash. No paint. Finger print on interior side.
d. Clay of Type A, 3–5%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. D: 6.1- 5.2.
h. Context missing.

3086. Chariot wheel or shield. Slightly convex (*Figs. 65d, 66d*).
a. Pieced together from many fragments. Small parts missing.
b. Appears handmade; eveness of surface and regularity of thickness suggest rotation on potter's wheel. Rim formed carefully by hand.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 1–2%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. D: 7.0.
h. Context missing.

3087. Chariot wheel or shield. Flat (*Figs. 65a, 66a*).
a. Complete.
b. Handmade.
c. No wash. No paint. Finger striation on interior side.
d. Clay of Type A, 10–15%.
e. Hardness 2.
g. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. D: 5.4.
h. Context missing.

3088. Chariot wheel or shield. Flat (*Figs. 65c, 66c*).
a. Complete.
b. Handmade.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type A, 3–5%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
g. D: 6.3.
h. Context missing.

V. HORSES

In the terracotta horses from Aija Irini the legs are always rendered. Instead of legs, 3089 has a small handmade base on the front side below the trunk; the base is pierced through. Figurines with pierced bases have been reported from Campanopetra. They were intended to be rolled on wheels attached to a stick or rod, which passed through the drilling of the base.[50]

3089. Neck and part of trunk of animal figurine (*Fig. 67*).
a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Hollow. Trunk and neck thrown separately and assembled together. Extra clay to form mane. Handmade base above forelegs. Base pierced.
c. Wash. Solid brown clay over wash. Clay drips on the under side. Few finger striations.
d. Clay of Type A?, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6, 2.5YR 6/8; surface 5YR 7/6–7/4; wash 5YR 8/4; paint 5YR 5/3.
g. H: 11.5; W: 5.7; L: 8.6.
h. Context missing.

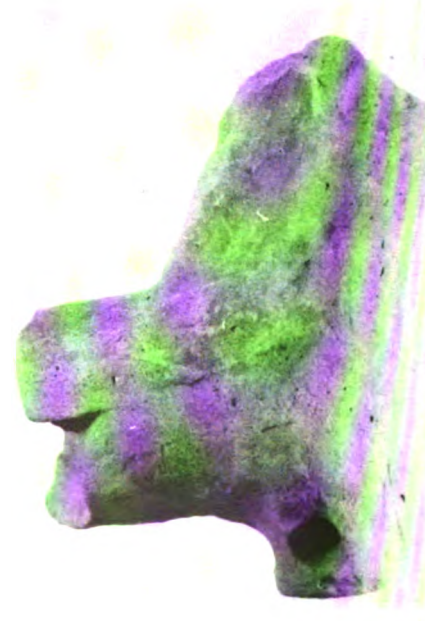

Fig. 67. A. I. 3089.

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Fig. 68. A. I. 3090.

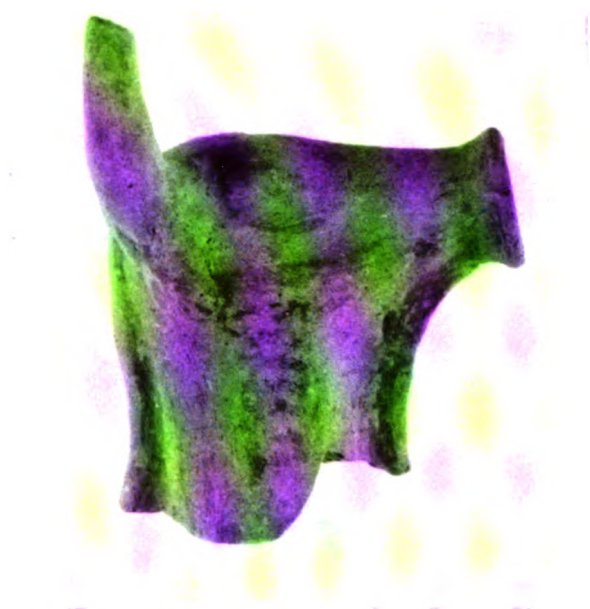

Fig. 69. A. I. 3091.

VI. BULLS

At Ajia Irini bull figurines and statuettes have been found in Periods 1–6. The Geometric and Archaic phases of the site have produced comparable types, which have continued from the Late Bronze Age.[51] It is not, therefore, possible to bracket more closely the chronology of the new bull statuettes.[52]

3090. Head and neck of bull. Mouth slightly open with tongue showing (*Fig. 68*).

a. One piece. Left horn broken at base. Right horn partly missing. Part of left side of face chipped.
b. Head and neck thrown together in one piece. Applied handmade ears, eyes, and horns. Horns solid. Small ventilation hole pierced on top of head.
c. Finger striations on exterior surface. Incisions and spatula marks on back of head, especially on left side.
d. Tiny and small squarish, roundish inclusions. Non-transparent dark grey in color and with abraded surface, 10–15%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6–6/4, 2.5YR 5/4, 5YR 5/3.
g. H: 14.8 (with horns), 11.5 (head only); L: 13.5; W: 8.0 (head).
h. Context missing.

3090 stands closest in style to 2034 (Gjerstad 1963, fig. 3), but there are differences, both in detail and technique

3091. Head of bull. Left horn missing (*Fig. 69*).

a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Head and neck thrown together in one piece. Muzzle wheelmade, open at both sides and attached to head. Applied solid, handmade horn.
c. Wash. Decoration in brown color. Vertical band on neck and back of head. Traces of two vertical lines connected with parallel diagonal short strokes on right side of neck. Traces of brown paint around eyes and on muzzle.
d. Clay of Type A?, 7–10%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6, 5YR 6/4; surface 7.5YR 7/4; brown 2.5YR 3/2.
g. H: 9.1; W: 5.2; L: 7.2.
h. Context missing.

3092. Head and upper part of neck of bull (*Fig. 70*).

a. Fragment in one piece. Back and horns missing.
b. Wheelmade. Muzzle, nose, eyes and horns added.
c. Wash. Brown paint, once probably solid, on head and left side of neck.
d. Clay of Type A, 5–7%.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/4; wash 5YR 7/6–7/4; brown 2.5YR 7/4.

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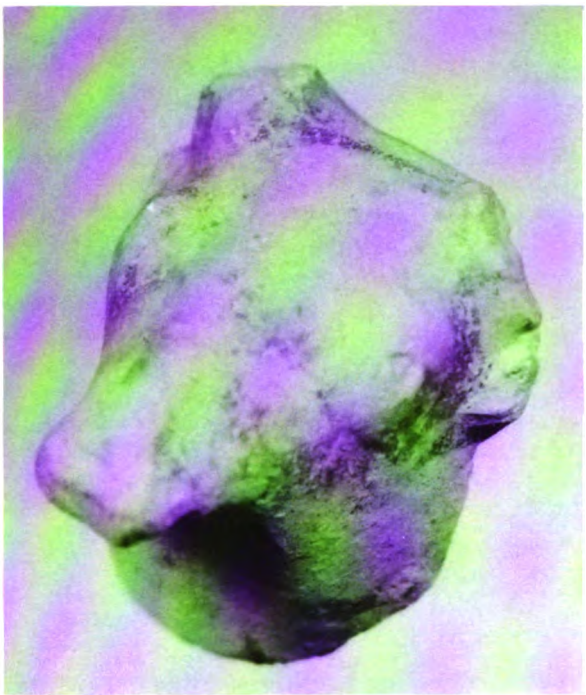

Fig. 70. A. I. 3092.

g. H: 7.1; L: 6.7; W: 5.8.
h. Context missing.

3093. Head of bull preserved from muzzle to horns *(Fig. 71)*.
a. Fragment in one piece. Part of muzzle missing.
b. Hollow, handmade with very thick walls. Depressions for eyes (right eye) filled with large oval clay pellet; round circle at middle of pellet delineating iris (left eye).
c. No wash. Solid red paint covering all of exterior surface.
d. Inclusions similar to Type C, but larger; 25–30%. Clay rough and sandy in texture.
e. Hardness 4.
f. Clay 5YR 7/4; red 10R 6/6.
g. H: 8.8; W: 10.5; L: 11.9; Th of walls 2.3–3.0 (right side).
h. Context missing.

The treatment of the eye finds a parallel in 2338, a wheelmade bull made from clay of Type B.

3094. Middle part of trunk and upper hind legs of bull (*Fig. 72*).
a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Hollow and handmade with very thick walls. Legs solid, round in section. Small ventilation hole on under side.
c. No wash. Surface covered with red paint.
d. Inclusions similar to Type C, but larger, 25–30%; Clay rough and sandy in texture.

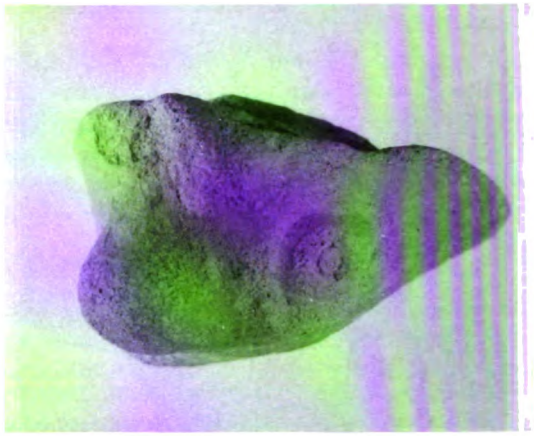

Fig. 71. A. I. 3093.

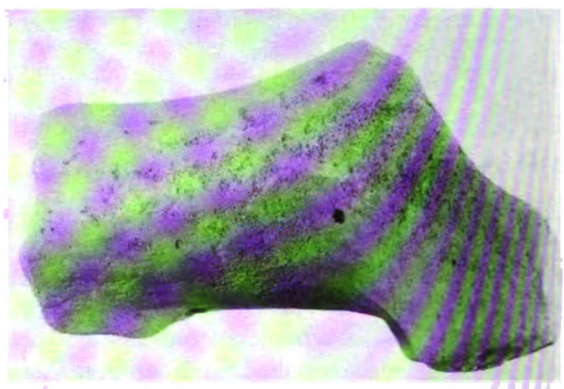

Fig. 72. A. I. 3094.

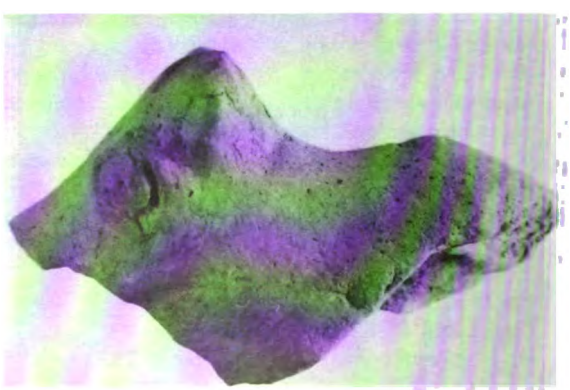

Fig. 73. A. I. 3095.

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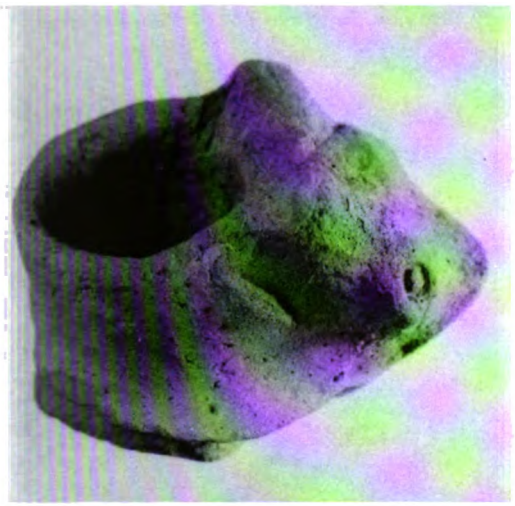

Fig. 74. A. I. 3096.

e. Hardness 4.
f. Clay 5YR 7/4–7/6; red 10R 6/6.
g. H: 13.5; L: 19.5; W: 12.2; T (of walls): 2.8–3.6 (back), 1.5–3.9 (front).
h. Context missing.

The terracotta fragments 3093 and 3094 share the same clay, technique, surface treatment and are compatible in size. It is probable that they belong to the same statuette.

3095. Part of upper head and trunk of bull statuette (*Fig. 73*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Surface of horns chipped.
b. Hollow and handmade.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Clay of Type B, 3–5%.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/8 (more diluted).
g. H: 9.3; L: 13.6; W: 6.5.
h. Context missing.

In contrast to 3093–3095, terracotta bulls from Ajia Irini are usually either solid and handmade or hollow and wheelmade.

3096. Small cup with one side formed as a bull. Short horns, protruding eyes with central groove at centre to delineate the iris (*Fig. 74*).
a. One piece. Lower walls of cup damaged. Muzzle partly missing.
b. Cup handmade; head of bull solid and handmade.
c. Wash bath. Few spatula marks and finger striations on cup.
d. Clay of Type C, 30–40%.
e. Hardness 4.
f. Clay 5YR 7/4; wash 10YR 8/3.
g. H: 6.8; L: 9.0; W: 5.6; D: 5.2 (external/cup).
h. Context missing.

Another rhyton (2654) with a ram's protome projecting at the base is reported from the site. It is in Plain White V ware and is assigned to Period 6 (*SCE* II, 770; Table of Finds, Pottery). The rendering of the eye in 3096 is comparable to 3093.

VII. ANIMAL-LIKE FIGURINES

There are no other parallels to 3097 and 3098 in the Ajia Irini terracotta assemblage. Both figurines, which are very similar, have painted rolls of clay on their back/side. 3097 is dated by its stratified context, though broadly, to prior of Period 4. The second figurine was found in a surface layer (*SCE* II, section XIV).

3097. Small animal like figurine with extended arms and legs. Rounded finger like projection on left side (*Figs. 75a, 76a*).
a. Only part of legs and arms preserved. Right ear missing.
b. Handmade, solid. Pinched nose; applied pellets for ears and eyes.
c. Wash. Brown paint on forehead, back of head, mouth and eyes. Brown paint on back running diagonally from left shoulder to right leg. Brown paint on right front side from chin to under side of right leg. Horizontal parallel brown strokes on projection.
d. –
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 5YR 7/4; wash 10YR 8/3; brown 2.5YR 2.5/4.
g. H: 6.6; W: 2.6.
h. L10, below statue level.

3098. Upper half of animal-like figurine. Remnants of projection on the back (*Figs. 75b, 76b*).
a. Arms and right ear missing.
b. Handmade, solid. Pinched nose; applied pellets for ears and eyes.
c. Wash. Brown paint on forehead, back of head. Red on mouth and ears. Horizontal brown line across the back and on upper side of attached clay.
d. –
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 5YR 8/4–7; red 10R 4/6; brown 5YR 3/2.
g. H: 3.7; W: 2.4.
h. Q11, *ca.* 110.

VIII. 'THUNDERBOLTS'

This class of finds, called 'thunderbolts' by Gjerstad, remains enigmatic.[53] All, including the find in our cata-

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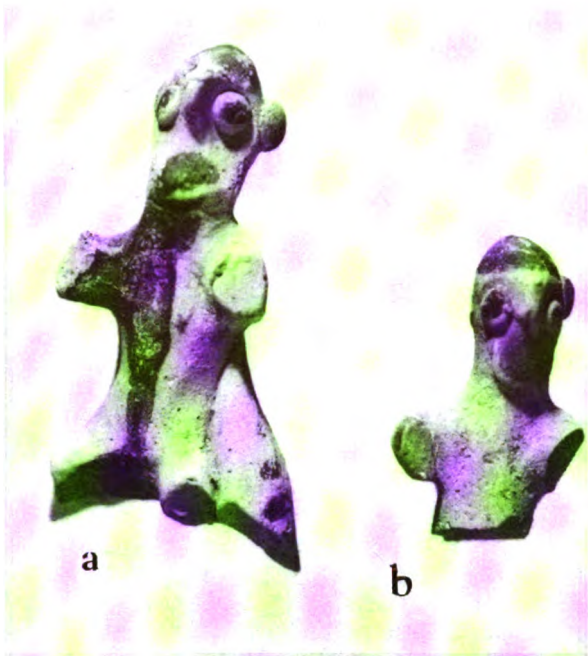

Fig. 75a–b. a: A. I. 3097 b: A. I. 3098.

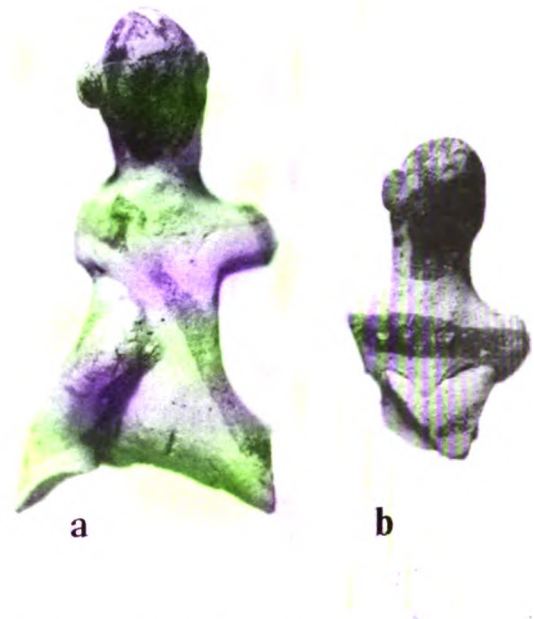

Fig. 76a–b. a: A. I. 3097 b: A. I. 3098.

logue, were found in the same square. 3099 is notable for the amount of color preserved on it.

3099. Upper part of a spirally wound 'thunderbolt' (*Fig. 77a*).
a. Fragment in one piece.
b. Handmade, solid.
c. Painted. A black and a red line spirally wound around the surface of the artefact.
d. –
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 5/6; red 10R 4/6; black 10R 2.5/1.
g. H: 8.9; W: 1.7–2.6.
h. K11-L11.

IX. 'VOTIVE TREES'

'Votive trees' like 3100 are typical for female sanctuaries. They form a noticeable part of the terracotta assemblage of the sanctuaries at Peristeries[54] and Palaepaphos;[55] Ohnefalsch-Richter illustrates one example from a female temenos at Kythrea.[56] Votive trees appear sporadically in male sanctuaries. There is only one example from Kazaphani,[57] and three additional unpublished specimens from Mersinaki. This is the first occurence of this object at Ajia Irini, which stands

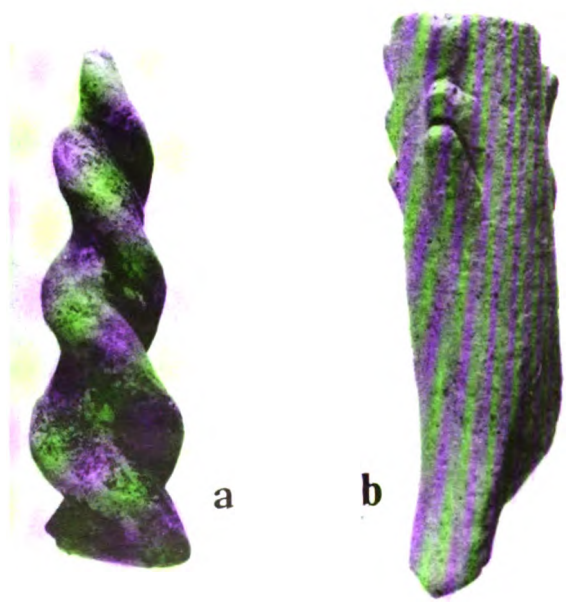

Fig. 77a–b. a: A. I. 3099 b: A. I. 3100.

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closest in appearance to the 'votive trees' from Mersinaki.

3100. Stem with three rows of vertically placed thorns. Under side hollow (*Fig. 77b*).
a. Fragment in one piece. Base partly missing.
b. Solid, cylindrical, probably rotated on a tournette.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Large black and red non-transparent; 20–25%. Inclusions visible to naked eye.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6–6/8.
g. H: 9.6; W: 2.4–2.6.
h. Context missing.

Summary

The terracottas presented here give evidence for new (3024–3026, 3040, 3047, 3071, 3097, 3098, 3100) or rare (3048–3051) types; for the use of new molds (3025, 3026, 3040, 3047, 3064, 3065) or molds with low frequency (3042); for the, now lost, colorful effect of some of the sculptures (3000, 3001, 3012, 3099); and for the variation in their construction technique (3000, 3001, 3002, 3027, 3030–3035, 3039). Although fragmentary, the new material enriches the published corpus of finds and adds to our understanding of the Ajia Irini terracotta assemblage.

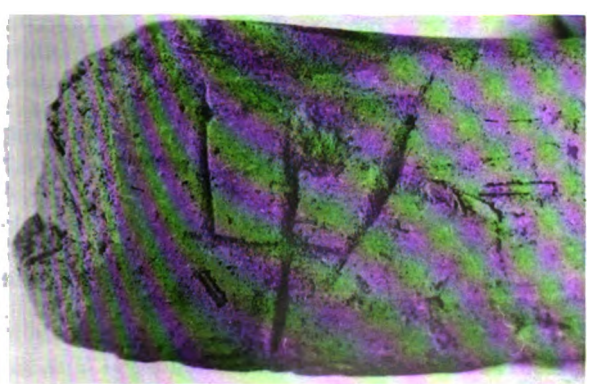

Fig. 78. A. I. 3101.

Addendum

Ceramics

A sherd is presented here, bearing a sign on its rim, incised after firing. As most of the pottery from the site has not been studied, it is not possible to place the mark in a broader inter-site context. The stratigraphic context for the piece assigns it to Periods 5–6 (*SCE* II, Section XIV). The pottery sign, be that a mark of capacity, ownership, manufacture or votive act, cannot be satisfactorily paralleled by any of the signs of the Cypriote syllabary – the sign for 'se', especially the Paphian version with the lower stroke in the middle,[58] gives the closest parallel.

3101. Out-turned rim of large vessel (Plain Ware) with mark scratched after firing (*Fig. 78*).
a. Wheelmade.
c. No wash. No paint.
d. Coarse, 20–25%. Medium size matt dark red and black inclusions.
e. Hardness 3.
f. Break 2.5YR 6/6 (periphery), 5YR 7/4 (core); surface 5YR 7/4.
g. H: 8.9; W: 10.8; 4.5–4.6 (rim).
h. G12, 100–110.

Gloria Ikosi
c/o Medelhavsmuseet
Graeco-Roman Department

The following abbreviations are used:

SCE II	'Ajia Irini', in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, II, 1935, 642–824.
Gjerstad 1963	E. Gjerstad, 'Supplementary notes on finds from Ajia Irini in Cyprus', *MedMusB* 3, 1963, 3–40.

Reference is made extensively to these publications. For economy in space only two photographs of comparative material are reproduced in this article.

I wish to thank Dr. Eva Rystedt and Ms. Marie-Louise Winbladh of the Graeco-Roman Department for granting me permission to work with the material from Ajia Irini in the Medelhavsmuseet, for access to the various research facilities in the Museum and for all the help they provided during the various stages of this research. I would also like to thank Ms.

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Anna-Lena Forsman of the Conservation Department in the Historical Museum, who cleaned all studied material and restored several of the pieces. Many of the terracottas had already been mended by Mr. Toulis Souidos, a Cypriote who had worked for several years in Stockholm restoring material from the excavations of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. My thanks to Ms. Margareta Sjöblom for the photographs in *Figs. 7, 9a-b, 39* and *44*, and to Mr. Martin Mattson for all the remaining photographs.

[1] Gjerstad suggests that the beginning of the Geometric temenos should be placed in Cypro-Geometric I. The earliest discrete Geometric layer is dated on the pottery to the Cypro-Geometric II, see *SCE* II, 817.

[2] E. Gjerstad, *Ages and days in Cyprus* (SIMA-PB, 12), Göteborg 1980, 172–174.

[3] Photographs included in Gjerstad's publications give a good representative sample of the most frequent iconographic/stylistic types, see *SCE* II, pls. 189–228 and Gjerstad 1963, figs. 1–55. There are a few other examples: e.g., a female figurine, a seated statuette, a figurine wearing a bull mask and a figurine with a Janus face.

[4] *SCE* II, 777–783.

[5] *SCE* II, 777.

[6] These styles are notable for their organic quality. See E. Gjerstad, 'Sculpture', in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV,2, 93–117, for a definition of the Archaic styles in Cypriote sculpture with reference to the Ajia Irini material. The rather mechanical subdivision of the Ajia Irini terracottas into styles with non-diacritical characterization has been rightfully criticized, see B. Lewe, *Studien zur archaischen kyprischen Plastik* (diss. J. W. Goethe University), Frankfurt 1975, 9–24.

[7] Terracottas comparable to those from Ajia Irini have been reported from Patriki, V. Karageorghis, 'A deposit of Archaic terracotta figures from Patriki, Cyprus' *RDAC* 1971, 27–36.

Some of descriptions for the terracottas from Myrtou *Pighades* evoke types typical for Ajia Irini; the terracottas are not illustrated. See J. du Plat Taylor, *Myrtou-Pigadhes, a Late Bronze Age sanctuary in Cyprus*, Oxford 1957, 83.

[8] The publication lists 2788 finds. In Gjerstad 1963 the numbers 2789–2810 were used for the supplementary material; each number was preceeded by the word 'Suppl.' The Medelhavsmuseet has no records of other inventoried supplementary material from the site, while the Cyprus Museum has used the notation 2737/1, 2737/2, .., 2737/69 for unpublished sculptures. For clarity and in order to avoid possible overlaps I have begun the numbering of the new material with 3000.

[9] G. Ikosi, 'The terracottas of Ajia Irini: techniques and clays' in *Acta Cypria* II, Gothenburg, in press.

[10] No paint samples from the material presented here have been analysed scientifically. Red and black pigments from other terracottas from the site were examined with X-ray diffraction. They proved to be iron oxides. The red is haematite; the black maghemite or magnetite. The analysis was carried out with Dr. J. Riederer and Dr. Christian Goedicke. A.O. Shepard, *Ceramics for the Archaeologist*, 5th ed. (Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 609), Ann Arbor 1985, 31–44, discusses the range of paints available to ancient potters. R.E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot pottery, a review of scientific studies* (British School at Athens Fitch laboratory occasional paper, 1), Athens 1986, 760–819, gives a review of analytical data on ancient pigments.

[11] Shepard (supra n. 10), 118 has emphasized the relative value of paste texture readings pointing out that "the appearance of texture is influenced by color contrasts of inclusions and clay."

[12] Dr. J. Riederer has studied thin sections from samples of clays of Types A, B, and C. All three clay types are foraminiferous. Types A and B are calcareous, characterized by the presence of quartz, plagioclase feldspar, hornblende, epidote, mica and haematite. Type C is characterized by volcanic inclusions with the minerals sanidin, hornblende, and pyroxene as components. Feldspar and hornblende also appear as constituents in the clay matrix.

[13] The test was carried out either on the interior surface or on the under side of each terracotta.

[14] Shepard (supra n. 10), 115–117.

[15] This was dictated by practical reasons, as the artefacts were studied indoors.

[16] When I went through the unpublished finds from Ajia Irini, which include considerable quantities of unpublished pottery, I found boxes in which terracotta material of similar nature – e.g., chariot wheels, fragments of heads, bodies of small figurines–had been gathered together without other indication of stratigraphical context. In a few cases all that was noted was the square in which the terracotta had been found. The boxes might have contained material from the site presented to the Expedition and/or collected before excavation and/or gathered from the boxes with stratified material after the publication for restoration. All material presented here came out of the boxes of unpublished finds. 3000–3003, 3032, 3033, 3035, 3048, 3063, 3097, 3098 and 3091 are an exception; they had already been washed and transferred to the main Cypriote magazine of the Medelhavsmuseet.

[17] Greek letters were used in the old system. Squares designated with letters common to the Greek and Latin alphabet are located differently, depending on what system one follows.

[18] The term is also applied to ceramic deposits from squares far from the altar.

[19] Several larger scale terracottas from Ajia Irini wear plain, often double or twisted, ring ear-rings, (*SCE* II, pls. 192,2; 193,1–3; 195,1, 2, 4; 196,2–7; 207,3; 209,3; 210; 215,1, 2; 218,1–3; 219,1–4; 220; 222). The fashion appears to be independent of style. 1728+1740 (*SCE* II, pls. 189; 191,2–3), executed in the Proto-Cypriote style as our catalogue examples, wears metal ear-rings.

[20] 1385+1530 (*SCE* II, pl. 194,2); 1524+2333+2346 (*SCE* II, pl. 200,2); 1470 (*SCE* II, pl. 201,2–3); 1490 (*SCE* II, pls. 201,1, 203,1). These are invariably dressed in a short kilt and some have attributes which suggest that they are warriors.

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[21] It is not possible to say whether the figurine was thrown on a potter's wheel in one piece or whether two separately thrown parts were joined together. The thickening of the front side of the neck of the figurine on the exterior, and the presence of a lump of clay which appears to close the opening of the wheelmade body near the start of the neck in the interior, suggest that the piece was made of two separately thrown parts.

[22] The regularity in the thickness and layering of the clay at the breaks and the slight undulations felt when moving one's hand across the interior suggest the use of a potter's wheel. It is possible that a wheelmade part was pressed into a mold.

[23] 936 (*SCE* II, pl. 209,6), 1724 (*SCE* II, pl. 209, 2 and 3), and 1725 (*SCE* II, pl. 209,1 and 4), were cast in molds of the same series. I have no measurements of these molds to determine how they compare with 3020. 1724 and 1725 and 1098 belong stratigraphically to Period 5 (*SCE* II, Table of Terracotta Sculptures).

[24] The same comments hold for the interior surface of 3021 as for 3020 (supra n. 22). The face was either very carefully modelled or cast in a mold and retouched – retouching would explain the undercuttings in the area of the lips and the under side of the nose.

[25] A. Westholm, 'Mersinaki', in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* III, 340–398, esp. 387.

[26] Representations of children (e.g., temple boys), youths and adults enrich the repertoire of votive sculptures in Hellenistic Cyprus. In all likelihood, they correspond to dedications made in connection with rites of passage, as already suggested by J.B. Connelly, *Votive sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus*, Nicosia 1988, 3–5.

[27] Coins from the site point to a date in the later part of the first century, while sculptures in stone give an earlier stylistic date in the turn of the third century, *SCE* II, 820.

[28] A thin section from this particular terracotta has been studied by Dr. Riederer. The clay is calcareous and very rich in fossils. Other constituents are quartz, and haematite-like flakes. Feldspar, epidote and hornblende occur rarely.

[29] I give a few examples from Samos and from Arsos. All terracottas listed are female. For clarity, attention is restricted to those which do not wear earrings. From Samos: G. Schmidt, *Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos* (*Samos* VII), Berlin 1968, T2647, pl. 20; T148+209+2392, pl. 21; Berlin Sa 108, pl. 22; T7, pl. 23. From Arsos: C614, C617, C619, C630, C667, C685, C687, C690, C692.

[30] Th. Monloup, *Salamine de Chypre* XII: *Les figurines de terre cuite de tradition archaïque*, Paris 1984, 140, pl. 27. The parallel comes from the area of the sanctuary which was in use from the Cypro-Geometric I through the Cypro-Archaic period till its abandonment 'au plus tard dans les années 550', ibid., 15.

[31] 2176, the published Hellenistic figurine from the site, is not in the collection of the Medelhavsmuseet. In the publication (*SCE* II, 756) it is described as a moldmade head of a female figurine wearing a plain diadem. Given the canons of body proportions of Hellenistic art, its height (6.0 cm) is incompatible with that of 3047; they cannot, therefore, belong together.

[32] L.P. di Cesnola, *A descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola collection of Cypriote antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, New York & Boston, 1885–1903, I, figs. 852–853; A. Westholm, 'Sculpture', in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV,3, 82–110, pl. 9,2. The quiver in the example from Ajia Irini is missing, but an opening on the upper side of the right shoulder suggests that it might have broken off.

[33] E. Bevan, *Representations of animals in sanctuaries of Artemis and other Olympian deities* (BAR-IS, 315), Oxford, 1986, 105f.

[34] For Pyla and Malloura, di Cesnola (supra n. 32), figs. 848–854; A. Hermary, *Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre, sculptures (Musée du Louvre, Departement des antiquités orientales)*, Paris 1989, 835–841. For Kazaphani see V. Karageorghis, 'A "favissa" at Kazaphani', *RDAC* 1978, 156–196, pl. 26,59.

[35] For Achna, M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Berlin 1893, pl. 212,4–5. 11; for Kourion ibid., pl. 202,2. A.P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus Antiquities*, Oxford 1881, pls. 41, bottom row, third figurine from the left; 42, top row, first figurine from the left, and bottom row, first figurine from the right, illustrates examples of an unprovenanced variant of the iconographic type, in which Artemis wears a kalathos and elaborate jewelry and the deer stretches its body vertically resting on the left front side of the goddess. In these figurines the frontality, the contraposto and the treatment of the drapery look back to the fifth century, but the faces are Hellenistic.

[36] A. Queyrel, *Amathonte* IV, *Les figurines hellenistiques de terre cuite* (Études chypriotes, 10), Paris 1988, 74–77; pls. 207–237. Queyrel dates them to the end of the first century B.C. Their findspot gives only a *terminus ante quem* in *ca.* 50 A.D., ibid, 34.

[37] O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (Études Chypriotes, 1), Paris 1983, 95.

[38] I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus* (SIMA, 44), Göteborg 1976, gives a list of names current in Ptolemaic Cyprus.

[39] Horse and riders in small size: 921, see S. Törnkvist, 'Arms, armour and dress of the terracotta sculpture from Ajia Irini', *MedMusB* 6, 1973, 7–55, fig. 37; 922 (*SCE* II, pl. 234,1); in larger size: 2789 (Gjerstad 1963,. fig. 8).

[40] The type is much more frequent at Campanopetra (supra. n. 30) and at Kourion, J.H. Young & S.H. Young, *Terracotta figurines from Kourion in Cyprus* (Museum Monographs), Philadelphia 1955. N.A. Winter, 'Terracotta figurines from Kourion: the workshops', in *Cypriote Terracottas*, eds. F. Vandenabeele & R. Laffineur, Brussels & Liege, 1991, reports *ca.* 1,000 horse and riders from the votive pit outside the Archaic precinct wall at Kourion; they range in date from the seventh to the first century B.C.

[41] Monloup (supra n. 30), pl. 10,158–161.

[42] The bodies of the horses 921 and 922 (*SCE* II, pl. 234,1) have painted bands and lines, decorative and/or indicating the headstall and other bridle accessories.

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[43] The height, measured on a random sample of 20 small size figurines, gave a mean of 20.9 cm, a maximum of 23.5 cm and a minimum of 16.4 cm.

[44] The figurine is marked 2402, but it does not match the description in the publication. Body and head were broken and found in separate squares (body, P8; head, Z4).

[45] The figurines of chariots 249+115 (Gjerstad 1963, fig. 10), 1046 (*SCE* II, pl. 234,6) and 1998 (*SCE* II, pl. 235,5; Gjerstad 1963, fig. 9) are moldmade. A different mold was used for each chariot group. Two molds from the same series, differing only slightly in size and otherwise identical, were used for the figurines in chariot 1046.

[46] Models of carts in terracotta are known from Cyprus, see J.H. Crouwel, 'Carts in Iron Age Cyprus', *RDAC* 1985, 203–221.

[47] KEF 791 is an example from Kition *Bamboula*. Concentric circles in black and red adorn the exterior side. I thank Dr. M. Yon for permission to study this material.

[48] 3076 might have been constructed in the same way as 3071.

[49] There are examples of small standing figurines (*SCE* II, pls. 231,7–8, 232,7), of horse and riders (Törnkvist (supra n. 39), fig. 37), and of anabates in chariot groups (*SCE* II, pl. 235,2–5) holding shields.

[50] Monloup (supra n. 30), reports a total of 39 figurines (575–614) with similar feature at the edge of their base from Campanopetra, which she calls 'figurines à roulettes'. The group comprises human and animal figurines, chariots, and boats. For a reconstruction of a figurine with the wheels see ibid, 152, fig. 10. See also Th. Monloup, 'Figurines de terre cuite a roulettes', in *Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et Archéologie* (Colloques internationaux du centre national de la recherche scientifique, No. 578), Paris 1980, 169–176.

[51] Ikosi (supra n. 9).

[52] The new terracottas representing bulls are not related to Gjerstad's typology because of the difficulty I have in following his classification scheme.

[53] He conjectures that they might have been attributes of a statue of the weather god worshipped at the site (Gjerstad 1963, 39). He reports a total of 6 'thunderbolts', one of which is decorated as 3099.

[54] N. Serwint, 'The terracotta sculpture from Marion', in *Cypriote Terracottas* (supra n. 39), pl. 57e.

[55] F.G. Maier, 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos), tenth preliminary report: seasons 1977 and 1978'. *RDAC* 1979, 168–176, pl. 17,4. An example of a votive tree in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, A.M. Nielsen, *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 8: Cypriote Antiquities in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen* (SIMA, 20,8), Göteborg 1983, pl. 27, comes in all probability from Palaepaphos, as the other small size figurines in the collections of the Museum (ibid., pls. 19–24). They were all acquired in 1978 from the art market.

[56] Ohnefalsch-Richter (supra n. 35), pl. 17,1.

[57] Karageorghis (supra n. 35), pl. XLVIII, 208.

[58] Masson (supra n. 37), figs. 5–6.

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Cypriote Jugs with a Terracotta on the Shoulder Holding an Oinochoe

Frieda Vandenabeele

In addition to the fifteen jugs with a terracotta on the shoulder holding an oinochoe or a bull's head,[1] found by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (fourteen at Marion in 1929[2] and one at Vouni in 1928[3]), and a vase acquired in 1964,[4] the Medelhavsmuseet has on deposition an unpublished jug as well as a terracotta which once was part of such a vase. They were transferred from the National Museum of Art at Stockholm in 1982 for a long-time deposition, in connection with the establishment of the Medelhavsmuseet in the new premises at the Gustaf Adolfs Torg.

1. Bichrome Red Jug

Mus.: Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm; *Inv.*: NM Ant 2348; *Origin*: -; *Acq.*: given by Mr. Henrik Nissen to the National Museum of Art in 1970 (protocol of 29.7.1970) after his death (statement of his will dated 4.1.1967); *Publ.*: -.

a. Jug (*Figs. 1–2*)

H.: 40.5 cm; *Techn.*: wheelmade, cream clay, red slip, black and white paint; *Dam.*: broken, small part of foot missing; *Rest.*: stuck together.

The vase has a flat rim, a concave neck, an oval body, a splayed out foot, a twin-handle from neck to shoulder with two knobs on either side of the top and a figurine opposite the handle.

The vase is richly decorated. The flat rim and the upper part of the interior of the neck are painted black. The neck is decorated with a series of black triangles on a white band and three black bands with white knobs. On the shoulder, on each side of the figurine, two spirals linked by a rosette between two lines are painted in white. The body is decorated with a wavy black line on a white band, followed by black bands alternating with white lines. The foot is painted black. On the handle appear groups of parallel black lines between vertical black bands, which terminate on the shoulder in a sling ornament.

b. Terracotta (*Fig. 3*)

H.: 12.5 cm; *Techn.*: cream clay, red slip (as on the vase), black and red paint, face moulded, rest of the figurine handmade, solid; *Dam.*: right forearm broken, handle and upper part of the "oinochoe"[5] missing; *Rest.*: -.

The "female"[6] figurine wears a pointed headdress painted in red with a black band around the face. The face is roughly moulded. The right arm is bent forward to hold the "oinochoe",[7] the left arm is folded in front of the breast. The feet are indicated by two excrescences. The headdress is applied to the neck, the flat lower body to the shoulder of the jug. The "oinochoe" is decorated with two black bands, one at the transition from neck to shoulder and one at the base of the body. The red slip of the vase covers the lower part of the figurine.

The jug most probably belongs to the III (VI) category,[8] but only the study of the more than 150 items collected until now, shall – I hope – give an answer to the question. No exact parallel for the shoulder decoration is known to me, but two spirals – painted white – connected by a vertical line[9] or by a vertical line surmounted by an "arrow"[10] do exist. The rest of the decoration goes back to the Cypro-Archaic II period, but the rather clumsy execution could well belong to Cypro-Classical I.

Figurines with the left arm folded in front of the breast are not uncommon.[11] Comparable examples are

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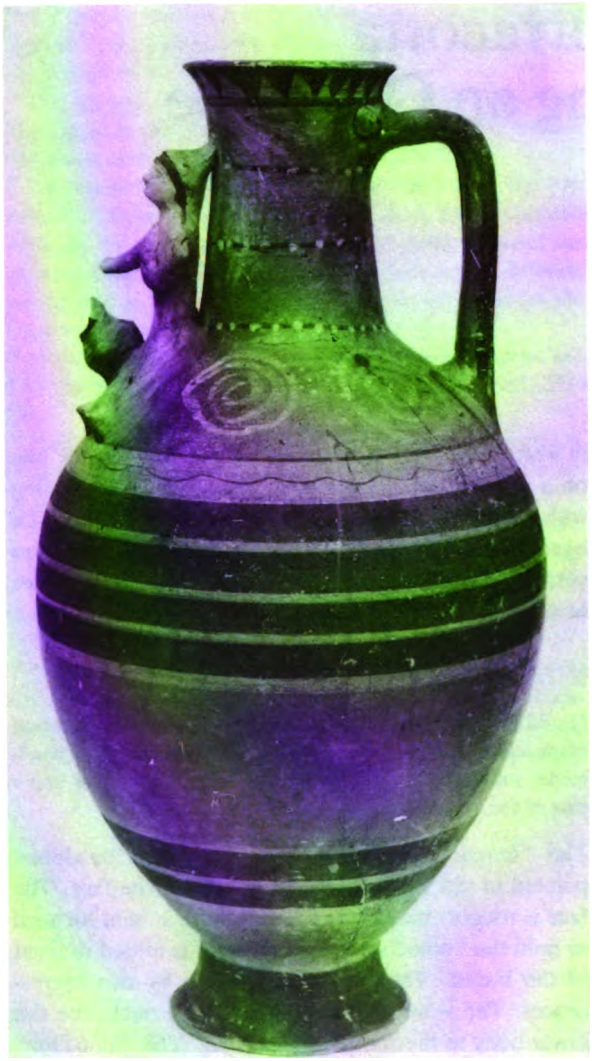

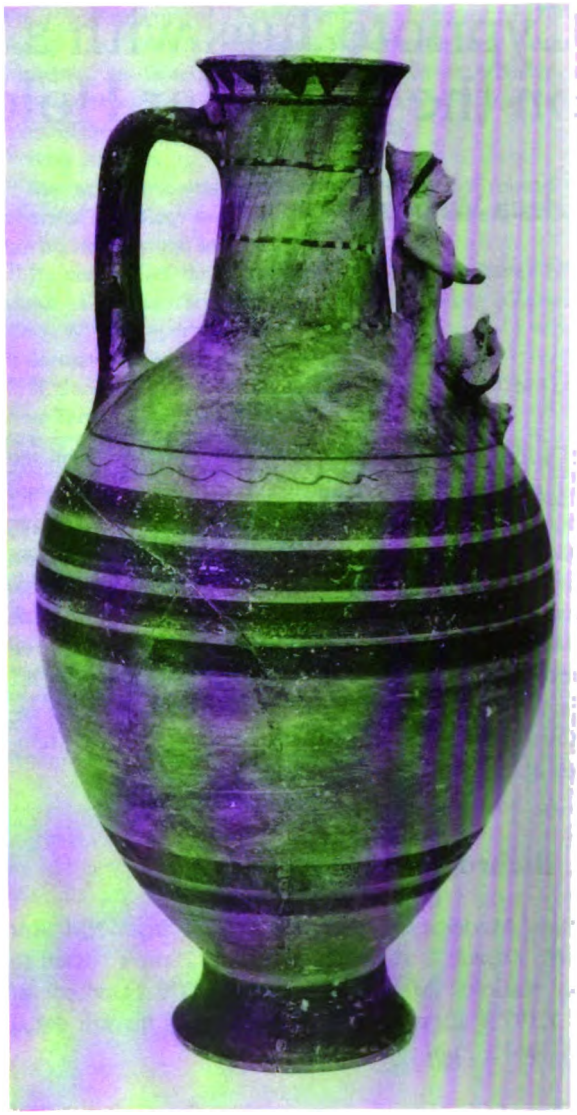

Figs. 1–2. NM Ant 2348.

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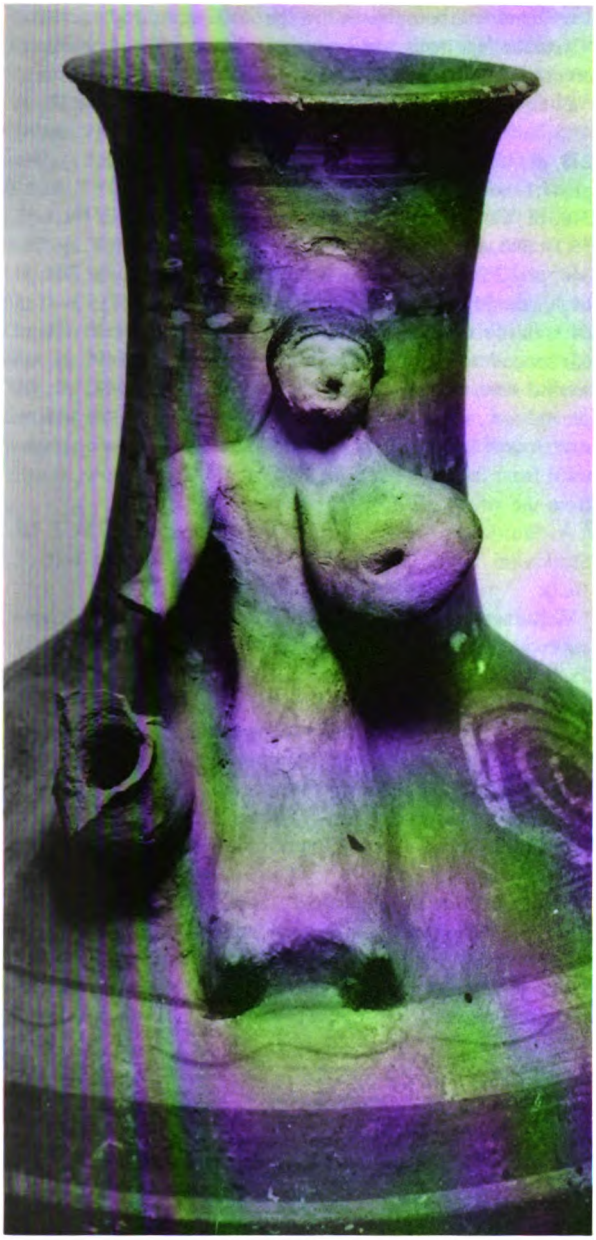

Fig. 3. NM Ant 2348, detail (terracotta).

perhaps the one from Marion (Ashmolean Museum 1890/689)[12] with the right arm folded, the left arm holding the oinochoe, applied to a Bichrome Red jug or the one from Nicosia (C 307, unpublished) applied on a Bichrome Red jug with a decoration of two spirals linked by a vertical line on the shoulder (*cf.* supra). In both cases a Cypro-Classical I date is possible.

Fig. 4. NM Ant 1482 (terracotta).

2. Fragment of Bichrome Red Jug[13]

Mus.: Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm; *Inv.*: NM Ant 1482; *Origin*: Curium ?[14]; *Acq.*: given to the National Museum of Art by Mr. Charles Watkins, Swedish Consul at Larnaca, in 1890 (protocol of 3.7.1890) together with a fair number of other Cypriote pots collected in various parts of Cyprus; *Publ.*: -.

a. Jug (body fragment)

H. preserved: 7.5 cm[15]; *Techn.*: wheelmade, buff-yellow clay, red slip turned black; *Dam.*: surface worn, incrustations; *Rest.*: -.

b. Terracotta (*Fig. 4*)

H.: 15 cm; *Techn.*: buff-yellow clay, black and red paint, face moulded, higher part of the frontside perhaps moulded, lower part, right arm, left arm, feet, pedestal, back of the figurine and oinochoe handmade, figurine solid; *Dam.*: -; *Rest.*: -.

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The female figurine (breasts clearly indicated) wears a pointed headdress with traces of black paint and red slip. The face is finely moulded, the large eyes and eyebrows painted black. Tresses fall on each shoulder (?). The right arm is bent forward to hold the oinochoe, the left arm is stretched along the side, the hand grasping a fold of the himation. She wears bracelets on both arms. Folds of a chiton, painted black, are visible above the feet, painted red and placed on a pedestal. The pointed headdress was applied to the neck of the vase, the lower part of the figurine to the shoulder. The oinochoe is decorated with black and red bands.

Not enough of the jug is preserved to give an approximate date.

The folds of the chiton can be compared to an example from tomb 522 of Amathus, not dated for the moment. Certain similarities can be noticed with three figurines on Plain White jugs of Nicosia (C 289, C 311 and C 413, unpublished) and with one from tomb 195 from Amathus, attributed by Tytgat to Bichrome VI-VII on stylistic arguments.[16] Bracelets in relief are rare, but exist for example on the left arm of C 384 (Nicosia Museum, unpublished).

An attribution to the Cypro-Classical I period seems the most likely.

Frieda Vandenabeele
Faculteit der Letteren en Wijsbegeerte
Sectie Kunstgeschiedenis en Archeologie
Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Pleinlaan 2
B-1050 Brussels
Belgium

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[1] Only a small number of terracottas hold a bull's head. The subject has been treated by the author at the Göteborg conference "Congress on Cypriote Archaeology, August 22–24, 1991" and will be published in the *Acts* in an article entitled 'Cypriote jugs with terracottas on the shoulder holding an *oinochoe* or a bull's head'.

[2] E. Gjerstad, 'Marion', in *SCE* II, Stockholm 1935, 233, pl. 42:3, middle row, second from the right & pl. 118:5 (T. 18.8); 233, pl. 42:3, middle row, second from the left (T. 18.11); 243, pl. 44:1, middle row, fourth from the left & pl. 100:9 (T. 22.5); 340, pl. 62:2, upper row, fourth from the left & pl. 99:8 (T. 56.1); 340, pl. 42:2, upper row, sixth from the left (T. 56.16); 340, pl. 42:2, upper row, fifth from the left (T. 56.18); 344, pl. 64:1, second row, second from the left (T. 57 dr.3); 344, pl. 64:1, third row, first from the right (T. 57. 6 chamber); 349, pl. 65: second row, fifth from the left (T. 58.56); 349, pl. 65: second row, seventh from the left (T. 58.63); 349, pl. 65: second row, sixth from the left (T. 58.64); 349, pl. 65: second row, fourth from the left (T. 58.68); 349, pl. 65: second row, third from the left (T. 58.70); 396, pl. 76: second row, fourth from the left (T. 72.15).

[3] A. Westholm, 'Vouni. Necropolis at Karakas', in *SCE* III, Stockholm 1937, 336, pl. 109:3, upper row on the left (T. 16.3).

[4] V. Karageorghis, C.-G. Styrenius & M.-L. Winbladh, *Cypriote antiquities in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm* (MedMusM, 2), Stockholm 1977, 37, pl. 20:3.

[5] It is not possible to be sure that the vase had a trefoil mouth, but practically all the pouring vases are of this type (exceptionally on a Plain White VI jug from the Marion region, with two very crudely moulded terracottas, a sort of circular opening served as a pouring mouth [V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes à Chypre en 1979', *BCH* 104, 1980, 772, fig. 48]).

[6] The breasts are not indicated.

[7] Unless the contrary is expressly stated, the terms *left* and *right* refer not to the spectator, but to the objects themselves.

[8] E. Gjerstad, *The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods* (*SCE* IV:2), Stockholm 1948, fig. 60:1 & 13.

[9] Fitzwilliam GR. 197 – 1888 (*CVA Cambridge* 2, pl. 13:3 [= Great Britain 11, pl. 492]); Nicosia C 307 (unpublished).

[10] Copenhague, Nationalmuseet 3213 (H. Th. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, Tübingen 1951, fig. 142:1; *CVA, Copenhague Musée National* 1, pl. 28: 1 [= Danemark 1, pl. 28]; *SCE* IV:2, fig. 54:11); Fitzwilliam GR. 47 – 1890 (*CVA Cambridge* 2, pl. 13:9 [= Great Britain 11, pl. 492]).

[11] For example Amathus T. 330.96 (Limassol), Neapaphos 153/44, Nicosia C 307, C 379, C 414, all unpublished; British Museum C 974 (B.F. Cook, *Cypriote art in the British Museum*, London 1979, 36, fig. 43; *CVA British Museum* 2, pl. 18:12 [= Great Britain 2, pl. 62]; H. B. Walters, *Cypriote, Italian and Etruscan pottery. Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan vases in the British Museum*, London 1912, 198); British Museum C 983 (*CVA British Museum* 2, pl. 18:11 [= Great Britain 2, pl. 62]; Walters [supra], 202).

[12] Given by the Cyprus Exploration Fund in 1890 (unpublished). Said to come from Marion, Kaparga.

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[13] Not totally certain as no traces of white paint remain visible.
[14] In the inventory most of the pots of Mr. Charles Watkins, to whom's collection the terracotta once belonged, are cited as "at the town of Curium". Three other examples were found at Curium by the expedition of the Trustees of the British Museum in 1895. Two are kept in the British Museum (H. B. Walters, 'Excavations at Curium', in *Excavations in Cyprus*, London 1900, fig. 141: T. 83 = BMC 977: *CVA British Museum* 2, pl. 18:14 [= Great Britain 2, pl. 62]; Walters [supra n. 11], 200, fig. 345; Walters, 'Excavations at Curium' [supra], fig. 141: T.9 = BMC 978: *CVA British Museum* 2, pl. 18:10 [= Great Britain 2, pl. 62]; Walters [supra n. 11], 201). One is kept in Nicosia (Walters, 'Excavations at Curium' [supra], 78:T. 19; the inventory of 1935 of the Nicosia Museum collection did not enable me to identify it, as no design is given in Walters, only a textual reference. "... and a third, from tomb 19, is now in the Nicosia Museum"). Another one was found at Curium by Ohnefalsch-Richter (P. Herrmann, *Das Gräberfeld von Marion auf Cypern* [Achtundvierzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin], Berlin 1888, 60, fig. 43; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Berlin 1893, pl. 181:4) and is perhaps kept at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (A. M. Nielsen, *Corpus of Cypriote antiquities* 8. *Cypriote antiquities in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen* [SIMA, 20:8], Gothenburg 1983, 7:10, pls. 19–20).
[15] The measures are approximate since the fragment is mounted on a plexi-stand and difficult to measure.
[16] The tomb context was disturbed (Chr. Tytgat, *Les Nécropoles Sud-Ouest et Sud-Est d'Amathonte* I. *Les tombes 110–385* [Études Chypriotes, 11], Nicosie 1989, 119: "tombe pillée ou déjà fouillée; réutilisée plusieurs fois").

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The Adornment of *Malavisch* on a Three-Parted Disc Group Mirror in Lund

Ingela M. B. Wiman

Introduction

A mirror in a private collection in Lund has a motif related to the "Adornment of the bride" – a motif fairly common in the late Classical and early Hellenistic mirror engravings from Etruria. The central character in the composition of these mirrors is a female sitting on a backless chair being adorned by two other women. The motif is most commonly interpreted as representing a bride being dressed and beautified for her approaching wedding. A few of these mirrors have an inscription in the immediate vicinity of the bride, *Malavisch*, which is often assumed to have been the bride's Etruscan name. The identity of the bride and the prototype for the motif is at present not fully known. Most commonly she is identified as an Etruscan analogue to Helen of Troy.

The mirror with this bridal motif to be discussed here (*Figs. 1–3*) is the same as the one depicted in *ES* II:211. The mirror was purchased in Rome 1951 by Prof. Arvid Andrén from L'antiquario G. Fallani in Via Babuini. The price paid was a copy of Andréns dissertation, *Architectural terracottas from Etrusco-Italic temples* (ActaRom-4°, 6), Lund 1940. Parts of the engraved motif have been discussed previously by G. Bendinelli[1] and later by A. Andrén in connection with discussions of the architectural elements in the background.[2] The provenience of the mirror is unknown. The mirror will be referred to in the text as the "Lund mirror".

The mirror is made of bronze in a solid state of conservation. The original tang or handle is broken off and was mended in antiquity with three iron rivets applied from the obverse side; two rivets are placed in a row above the third. Also this added handle-piece has been broken off. The obverse surface is covered with a stable golden to brown patination partly covered with veins of dark, green, rough incrustations. The reverse surface has been cleaned down to the lower third part of the disc. The lower third part of the disc and the talon are covered with reddish-brown incrustations in many layers with small lacunae destroying parts of the engravings. The cleaned surface is smooth and has the original bronze colour with spots of reddish-brown corrosion products which have not been polished off. The disc just above the talon is covered by a rough reddish-brown incrustation completely covering the engraving lines there. These features prove beyond doubt the antiquity of the engraving.

The measurements are: diameter 138 mm; height 160 mm; height of preserved talon 22 mm; max. width of talon 26 mm; thickness 1 mm; weight 120 gram; diameter of rivets; 8 mm (left), 5 mm (right) and 10 mm (the one below).

The mirror is circular with a talon with concave sides. The disc is slightly convex from the obverse. It has a small beaded or, rather, scratched edge with an "*oblique sortante*" section of Rebuffat-Emmanuel's classification.[3] There is no indentation.The talon is broken off just above the wings and is pierced through by three iron rivets used to attach a new handle in antiquity. In analogy with mirrors of the same type it is safe to conclude that the mirror originally was furnished with a handle cast in one piece with the disc.[4]

Description of the engraved motif

There is a very close parallel to the mirror here discussed, depicted in *ES* II:212 (*Fig. 4*), with a more clear and elaborated rendering of the motif. Comparisons to this mirror are used in order to explain some uncertainties of the drawing of some pictorial elements in the Lund mirror.

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The engraving design consists of three segements, the upper tympanon, the picture-frieze and an exergue. The tympanon is decorated with a façade of a temple. Andrén describes it thus: "The temple has four front columns, placed irregularly in order to be seen between the figures. Its protective terracotta decoration is indicated with a row of triangels, hatched in opposite directions, on the architrave; a row of circlets on the raking cornices; and a cresting in the shape of zigzags."[5] The sima is indicated by a triangular setting of two pairs of lines with engraved circles in the space between them. The end of the upper roof beam is indicated in the middle of the tympanon with a double quadrangle. The flutings of the aeolic columns are hidden behind the performing characters in the picture-frieze.

The picture-frieze shows a four-character motif. In the centre sits a lady on a backless chair with elaboratedly carved legs, of which three are visible, and rests her feet on a foot-stool. Her head is shown in full profile facing the right side of the mirror disc, and her body is viewed from a three-quarter profile. She is dressed in a belted chiton, a mantle fastened to her shoulders and wrapped around her hips and legs with a fold hanging down from the chair. The mantle hanging from her shoulders reaches the floor from her actual right side, and is held out from the body by her left hand. She is wearing *calcei repandi*.[6] She wears spiral-shaped armrings on both arms and two wavy lines at her neck indicate necklaces. From her right ear hangs an ear-pendant. A woman standing in front of her adjusts a diadem on her head. This woman is naked save for a mantle falling from her shoulders. She wears a diadem around her hair. Small, tightly set, diagonal scratchings indicate her abdominal region in an u-shaped line. She is turned towards the seated woman, her face shown in full and her body in three-quarter profile. The strange lines at her lower left leg are meant to indicate the lower part of her himation hanging in a sharp-edged fold at the level of her knee (cf. *Fig. 4*).

The seated woman has another female attendant standing behind. She is rendered in three-quarter profile and is naked except for a mantle falling from her shoulders and tucked in a fold between her knees. Her right arm hangs behind her side and the left is holding a lock of hair of the seated woman and what appears to be a piece of cloth is hanging from her hand (cf. *Fig. 4*).[7] Two ear pendants and a necklace are her only adornments. The fourth character in the scene stands to the right side and is facing the seated woman in the middle. It is a youthful male, naked except for his mantle. This hangs over his left shoulder and falls down in folds behind his back. His right hand grasps a stick and his left holds a lyre. The locks above his forehead are elongated and turned upwards, an unusual trait in mirrors of this date. Small diagonal scratches indicate his muscles on the torso and legs.

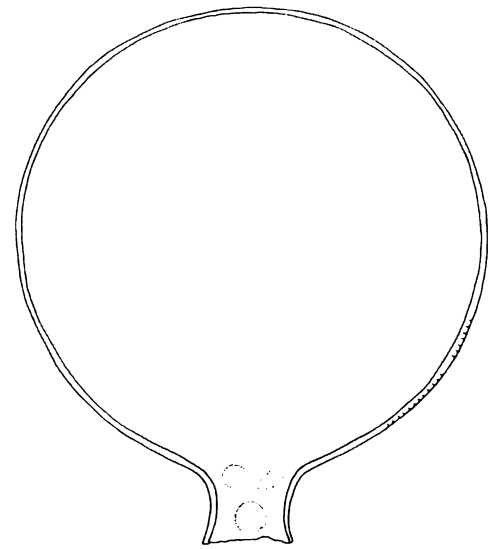

Fig. 1. Lund mirror. Obverse side and section. Drawings by Örjan Wikander.

The engravings on the exergue is very damaged but a female head in three-quarter profile turned right is indicated. She wears a small "pill-box hat" and has a triangular ear-pendant in her visible ear.

Design and character of the drawing

The characters are well disposed of in the available space of the picture-frieze. The heads of all the characters are placed in one level right under the lower line that indicates the architrave (note that the similar mirror on *Fig. 4* renders the seated woman's head at a level below the ones of the standing figures). There is good spacing between the figures and they are proportionate to one another. The mirror has not been made by an especially skilfull engraver. Above all he has had difficulties in rendering hands in a naturalistically convincing manner. The to the left standing woman's hand that

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Fig. 2. Lund mirror. Reverse side. Photo by Bengt Petterson.

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Fig. 3. Lund mirror. Reverse side. Drawing by Örjan Wikander.

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holds the lock of hair is not clenched properly and is provided with fingernails, which are rarely indicated by mirror engravers. Her other hand has a too thick ring-finger. The first three fingers of the seated woman's hanging hand are rendered too small compared to the thumb and small finger. Her other hand is rendered backwards (note that the similar mirror on *Fig. 4* has this hand in a most peculiar position, which might explain the difficulties facing the Lund engraver, who is possibly trying to correct this mistake of his prototype). Her profile is clumsily rendered with her mouth line too close to the nose providing her with an odd expression. The woman standing in front of her has her right hand rendered backwards (again, compare the same hand on the female of the mirror on *Fig. 4*). The male's left hand has only three fingers and he doesn't hold on to his lyre. There is a marked unplasticity of the characters facial lines as well as bodies. The lower right leg of the male is unusually clumsily rendered (note that the same leg of the male in the mirror on *Fig. 4* is too long and doesn't have a foot). It is interesting to note that the engraver of the Lund mirror has had difficulties with every detail of the drawing that appear to have been troubling the master engraver of *ES* II:212 (e.g. the left hanging hand of the male as well as the other details decribed above).

Discussion and interpretation of the motif

The mirror clearly belongs to the Three-Parted-Disc group (*TPD*) – mirrors generally without garlanded borders[8] and with a marked segmentation of the medallion into three parts.[9] The three segments are from bottom to top: exergue,[10] the picture-frieze and the tympanon. The composition of the picture-frieze in the Lund mirror is closest to the mirrors placed in the Lying-figure tympanon type, a group also including handle mirrors.[11] The possible prototype of this mirror, *ES* II:212 (*Fig. 4*), to be discussed more in full later, still has a head above the frieze of the background façade – a probable remainder of a full lying figure. Parts of the motifs depicted in the Lying-figure tympanon group, however, also have analogies in the Thesan tympanon group. These two groups consist of large, elaborate, luxurious mirrors of a very similar character and the place and date of origin for the groups must be very close; most probably they are to be classified as suborders under the same chief group. The motifs of the *TPD*-group are often enigmatic, elaborate and diverse. Motifs related to the profetizing Orfeus,[12] events including the baby(ies?) *Maris*,[13] the Adoption of *Hercle* by *Uni*,[14] the Judgement of Paris,[15] the Adornment of *Turan*,[16] the presentation of the Egg of Leda[17] as well as other variations showing events from the Trojan cycle.

The *TPD*-group of mirrors represent the last innovative and rich period of Etruscan mirror art.[18] The craftsmen of these mirrors established the repertoire and the iconographical conventions for most later mirror production (i.e. the Spiky-garland group and the Laurel-garland group)[19] which seems to relate to these mirrors or their prototypes.[20] The prototypes may have been famous Hellenistic paintings or Apulian vase painting or any other media.[21] Later mirrors gradually adopt a more restricted repertoire of mythological motifs, which become more and more simplified and end with just two, "the standing Disocuri" and the "Pseudo-Lasa".

The origin of the *TPD*-group is much discussed. At least two mirrors of the group carry the *Śutina* dedication (*ES* II:196, a mirror possibly from Orvieto[22] and *ES* V:77, a mirror from Porano close to Orvieto[23]). This dedication is restricted to the area encircled by Chiusi, Orvieto, Bolsena and Sovana according to Rebuffat-Emmanuel.[24] The recorded finding places of mirrors belonging to this group are mostly from the central or northern parts of Etruria like Todi, Orvieto, Chiusi, Volterra, Bomarzo, Castelgiorgio and Tuscania.[25] These facts taken together indicate that it was the central or northern workshops which developed and fabricated the *TPD*-group.

In order to try to establish the context of a mirror-motif as extensively as possible, one has to reconstruct a possible evolution of a certain motif or motif cycle. This can be done by examining and comparing the mirrors very minutely in order to establish a suite or series of mirrors providing this evolution and thus, perhaps, also the meaning of the motif. A very close prototype of the Lund mirror is, as stated above, *ES* II:212 (*Fig. 4*). It is difficult to clearly determine whether the engraver of the Lund mirror was actually modelleing on *ES* II:212, or just using the same prototype. They have some misconceptions in common which makes it highly probable that the actual mirror *ES* II:212 was the direct prototype to the mirror here discussed. The artist of the Lund mirror reveals almost identical uncertainties in the rendering of certain pictorial elements as does the master of *ES* II:212. Note for

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Fig. 4. Mirror *ES* II:212 of unknown provenience. From E. Gerhard *et alii*, *Etruskische Spiegel* II, pl. 212.

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instance the left hand of the seated female which in both mirrors is wrongly twisted as if actually a right hand. On the other hand the Lund mirror uses some pictorial elements not found in *ES* II:212 – two more columns and the full tympanon of a temple gable, and the lyre of the naked male – as well as omitting some – the satyr's head above the façade, the elaborate pattern of the architrave and the bulging lines, the so called *stylized atmosphere*.[26] The exergue depicts a female head where *ES* II: 212 shows a naked, winged boy. These facts along with the marked simplification of the motif makes it more probable that there were some mirrors in the series between these two. The simplifications with respect to *ES* II:212 are the following: there is no border decoration like the one on the rich mantle of the left standing woman of *ES* II:212, the ear pendants lack the three extra knobs, necklaces are rendered simply as wavy lines, the bride's stiff necklace with pendants is missing, the diadems are plain, the seat of the chair is missing and the legs omit the additional small double lines above the carvings, the *calcei repandi*

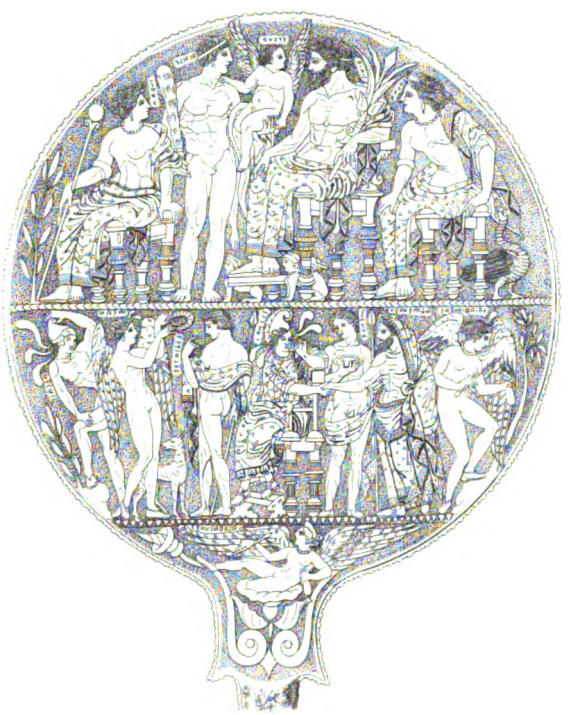

Fig. 5. Cabinet des Médailles mirror (*ES* II:181) with *Turan* and *Thalna* in the tympanon-field and Helen centrally placed in the picture-frieze. From E. Gerhard *et alii*, *Etruskische Spiegel* II, pl. 181.

of the seated woman is just given in contours, the knobbed mantle-flap covering part of the breast of the right female attendant is missing, as is the mantle-flap over the standing male's left shoulder, the laurel wreath of this male is omitted and replaced by elongated, upturned locks of hair. There are also some misconceptions: the lock of the bride's hair dressed by the left attendant is transformed to an unintelligible strip and a piece of cloth held in the hand, the laurel tree of the male has lost its connecting stem and the leaves appear as emerging from behind the frieze, the finely folded mantle over the right attendant's left shoulder has been treated as a strip of a diadem. The characters of *ES* II:212 have taller and more slender proportions and occupy a larger area of the entire disc. The inner body modelling of the figures is more elaborated. Since many small, but important, lines are missing in the Lund mirror its characters appear less plastic and they have bulkier proportions (even if both artists had difficulties in rendering twisted hands in a naturalistically convincing manner).

The motif rendered in the Lund mirror is very interesting since it evokes the discussion, touched upon above, whether *Turan*, Helen of Troy or the Etruscan Goddess *Malavisch* is the seated bride to be adorned in this motif. Bonfante sees the composition as "...generally representing the dressing of Malavisch, or Helen. The original composition was a simple three-figure group, typical of the fourth century, with only the seated central figure and the two attendants at the sides".[27]

This leads further to the very interesting question of the nature of the prototypes used by the Etruscan mirror engravers but also *how* they used them. Bonfante opens an interesting discussion in connection with the mirrors with the "Adornment of the bride" motifs: "All these variations on a basic composition show us how the craftsman used his pattern book. For the Toilette of Helen or Malavisch the Etruscan artisan evidently had available a three-figure model, a drawing after a Greek painting, probably taken from a South Italian vase. This model he copied faithfully enough so we can reconstruct it, though he changed a number of details of dress and furniture."[28] Bonfante recognizes an original model with two attendants, the one behind dressing a lock of hair and the one in front adjusting the diadem and using the gesture of tilting her chin up, and concludes that it "...occurs so often that it must have been on both the archetype and the model of the pattern book...Attendant figures were added at will..."[29]

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Seated goddesses

There seem to have been at least five different (?) goddesses seated on backless chairs (*diphroi*) on mirrors from the fourth century, *Turan*, *Thalna*, Helen, *Malavisch* and *Uni*. To my knowledge Helen appears just once with a clear label stating her name: *ES* II: 181, a mirror in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Fig. 5*). This is an unusal *TPD*-mirror where the temple background is replaced by an upper picture-frieze which shows, among others, *Turan* and *Thalna* seated on backless chairs. Helen appears in the lower picture-frieze but with an iconography very different from the one on the Lund mirror. She wears here a Phrygian cap, is turned towards *Achmemrun* whom she greets with a handshake. Behind them stands *Menle* with a *phiale*. The female attendants are missing, but *Mean* and *Lasa Timrae* are part of the composition. Parts of this motif have been used in a simplified version for at least two further mirrors, *ES* II:217 and *ES* II:218. The first one is seen to omit *Achmemrun* but keep Helen's outstretched hand. *Menle* is present in the same iconographical pose and with the same attributes as in the Cabinet des Médailles mirror. A female is standing close to Helen but is not occupied in her adornment. The second mirror, a Simple tympanon *TPD*-mirror,[30] replaces *Achmemrun* with a female but shows *Menle* and the standing female of the Cabinet des Médailles mirror. In all three mirrors Helen is almost frontally oriented and has a Phrygian cap and wears closed-type shoes. Thus, it seems that this particular tradition of rendering Helen has not been used as prototype for the "Adornment of the bride"-mirrors discussed here.

The *Malavisch* mirrors on the other hand use an iconography that in part is very similar to the *TPD*-mirrors with this motif. This is valid for the seated female and her two attendants. One is a mirror in the British Museum, *ES* II:213 (*Fig. 6*). Here we se the seated bride named *Malavisch* and her two attendants, *Munthuch* adjusting her diadem and *Zipna* dressing her hair. Two further characters are added, *Turan* and the mysterious *Hinthial*. *Malavisch* is wearing a necklace and a stiff breast-plate with pendants and the *calcei repandi* in common with the most elaborate *TPD*-mirrors using the "Adornment of the bride" motif. *ES* V:22 shows us the bride and her attendants flanked by two seated females and with a naked, winged youth in front. *Malavisch* is here less adorned but still keeps the armrings on the lower-arms and the breast-plate. Three other mirrors, *ES* II: 214, 215 and 216, show again *Malavisch* and two attendants. These, however, are no longer quite identical to the previous ones. Neither of the three mirrors belongs to the *TPD*-group but have garlanded borders, most commonly the Ivy-Leaf wreath (*ILW*-mirrors). Common to all of them, except *ES* II:216, are heraldic animals, hippocamps or sirens in the exergue field, a feature never present in the *TPD*-group. Probably these mirrors belong to quite another production centre than the *TPD*-mirrors.[31] *Malavisch* might be a local name for Helen or might be used as a personification for the act of being dressed as a bride or for the act of the female adornment itself; compare the two words believed to mean mirror: MAL-stria and MAL-ena. The root MAL seems undoubtedly to refer to "female toilette matters." The idea of such a personification concept is even more probable if one compares the name of the background female of the British Museum mirror, *Hinthial*, which in this case seems to be a personification for an Etruscan word meaning "image" or "shade".[32]

Fig. 6. British Museum mirror 626 (*ES* II:213) with *Malavisch*, her two attendants, *Munthuch* and *Zipna*, with *Turan* and *Hinthial* in the background. From E. Gerhard *et alii*, *Etruskische Spiegel* II, pl. 213.

Turan and *Thalna* appear both on the Cabinet des Médailles mirror (*Fig. 5*), but have nothing in common here with the bridal iconography. *Turan* herself, how-

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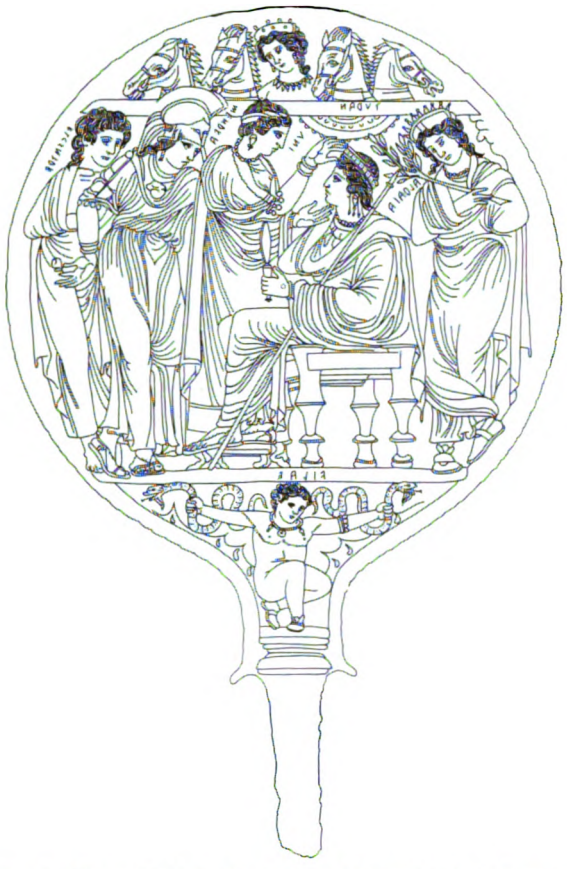

Fig. 7. Mirror 74.23 in the Indiana University Art Museum showing the Adornment of Turan. Dated around 300 B.C. From *CSE USA Midwestern Collections*, cat. no. 4.

ever, appears as a seated goddess with attendants on at least two mirrors, *ES* IV:319, a Laurel-garland tang-mirror and on a mirror now in Indiana (*Fig. 7*). She has a label stating her identity on both mirrors. The Indiana mirror (*Fig. 7*) shows *Turan* turned towards the left on the reverse mirror side, as does *ES* IV:319, but she has just one attendant, in this case named *Uni*. This *Turan* holds a mirror in her left hand and wears sandals.

The last of the seated goddesses to be discussed here is *Uni*. Of special interest in this connection is the boot that the bride on the Lund mirror is wearing. Such boots are also seen on *ES* II:212 and they adorn *Uni* on a famous *TPD*-mirror from Volterra, showing *Uni* adopting *Hercle* (*ES* V:60) (cf. *Fig. 8*). These types of shoes, Bonfante states, "...were eventually identified with a specific type of iconographic figure of Juno which remained unchanged from archaic times. No wonder that Cicero saw the image of Juno Sospita wearing this characteristic costume of archaic times; by Roman times it was preserved for her alone."[33] *Turan* on *ES* IV:319, albeit not her attendants, corresponds closely to *Uni* in the mirror from Volterra (*Fig. 8*), with diadem and a veil over her head but lacks the *calcei repandi* of the Volterra mirror. It thus seems possible that the *calcei repandi* was an iconographical detail used by the central/northern Etruscan engravers to identify *Uni*. A Thesan tympanon mirror from Todi (*Fig. 9*)[34] shows a seated bride turned to the left with two attendants. The one in front of her is adjusting the bride's diadem just as that in the Lund and the *ES* II:212 mirrors, but the other attendant, behind her, is not engaged in any action. Unfortunately, the lower part of the picture-frieze is obscure on the Todi mirror making it impossible to determine what type of shoe the bride is wearing.

TPD versus ILW bridal conventions

It is obvious that the Lund mirror relates very closely to the mirror *ES* II: 212 but it is hard to determine securely whether the Lund mirror is a late copy of this mirror with some possible mirrors in a series between them or an immediate copy of it. Hellenistic Etruscan mirror engravers often duplicated other mirrors very closely.[35] The artists working in the "classical period" of mirror production, on the other hand, were mostly innovative, mixing and elaborating on various iconographical standards and often creating quite new combinations. Thus, it could be that the artist of the older mirror *ES* II:212 took the satyr-head, the bulging lines to the sides of the disc and the male holding the laurel tree from a similar prototype as was used for the Volterra mirror with *Uni* (*Fig. 8*). The bride herself could have been composed of a mixture of the *Uni* type on the Volterra mirror and the *TPD*-mirror from Todi (*Fig. 9*), the latter providing both of the two adorning attendants. But it is interesting to note that the closest similarity to the "bride iconography" in the Lund and *ES* II:212 mirrors is provided by the *ILW*-mirror with *Malavisch* in the British Museum (*Fig. 6*). The Lund mirror renders finger-nails of the female attendant standing behind the seated bride and she is actively engaged in the adornment of the bride. Both features are lacking in the Todi mirror attendant. Finger-nails are rarely rendered in Etruscan mirror art and are not present in *ES* II:212 but present on all females of the British Museum mirror that show their hands. The active attendant dressing the hair of the bride is to my knowledge only present in the Lund

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mirror and in *ES* II:212 of the mirrors of the *TPD*-group. The entirety of the three females together, rather reflects the *ILW*-mirror with *Malavisch*, *Munthulch* and *Zipna*[36] of the British Museum mirror (*Fig. 6*). This mirror has a naked baby *Hercle* depicted on the talon. This is a feature rarely appearing in the *ILW*-mirrors but is common for the Thesan and Lying-figure *TDP*-groups. *Zipna* in the Lund and *ES* II:212 mirrors, however, is naked (but wearing a transparent dress in the British Museum *ILW*-mirror) and her right arm is held to her side like in the Todi mirror (*Fig. 9*). It appears thus that the engraving artist of the *ES* II:212 mirror had access to both the British Museum *ILW* Malavisch convention and the Todi *TPD* bridal convention side by side when engraving his mirror. The British Museum *ILW* mirror (*Fig. 6*) is metallografically close to two other *TPD*-mirrors in the British Museum and Danish collections.[37]

Whereas the place of origin of the *TPD*-group is still unknown but most often put in the central/northern parts of Etruria, most *ILW*-mirrors are believed to emanate from Vulci.[38] It has been established that there was a close metallic compositional connection between mirrors supposed to derive from Vulci and from Orvieto.[39] The mirror *ES* II:212 and the Lund mirror provide also an iconographical connection between the central/northern *TPD*-group and the *ILW*-group of a supposed "Vulcian" extraction. It is then highly possible that Orvieto served as a transitional territory transmitting "old" Vulcian innovative ideas with respect to mirror iconography into the "new" central/northern area growing more important in time. The central/northern Etruscan workshops were using a prototype for the "Adornment of the bride" mirrors, slightly different from, but similar to the one used in the *ILW* workshops. The Lund mirror and *ES* II:212 probably reveal the nature of this convention. The bridal type of the Lund and *ES* II:212 convention has undoubtedly been influenced by the *Uni*-type on the Volterra mirror, *Fig. 8*, showing the same type of spiral armrings, stiff necklace with pendants, elaborate diadem, the *calcei repandi* and even a bit of her veil. This type in turn is related to the *Malavisch* and her two attendants on the British Museum *ILW*-mirror (*Fig. 6*) and the bride and her attendants on the mirror from Todi (*Fig. 9*) showing a supposed *l'abbigliamento di Elen*.[40]

Fig. 8. Mirror from Volterra now in Florence, Museo Archeologico, showing the adoption of *Hercle* by *Uni*. Dated to 325–300 B.C. From E. Gerhard *et alii, Etruskische Spiegel* V, pl. 60.

Uni as the bride-prototype of the scene

This leads finally to the very plausible hypothesis that the original bride in question was *Uni* herself being prepared for the *hieros gamos*. The archetype for this convention might have been some Greek painting of this motif. The gesture of the left hand of the bride on *ES* II:212 seems to imply the holding of a piece of a veil, but this veil is not indicated elsewhere, so a piece of the mantle may have been intended. This gesture, however, reminds of the one used by Hera on the metope from temple E in Selinunt, where she encounters Zeus on Mount Ida. This "veil detail" is the most curiously treated element on the Lund mirror bearing witness to the ignorance of this gesture by the engraver. The *Malavisch*-mirrors and the "Adornment of the bride" motif might have the same original prototype related to a vase painting or a model of a Greek painting showing Hera being prepared for her sacred wedding on Mount Ida. If this is true, the character *Malavisch* should be identified with the Etruscan *Uni* rather than with Helen. "As the archetype of consummated marriage, the 'ancient ordinance of the marriage bed'

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Hera is everywhere the goddess of weddings and marriage – while seduction and carnal pleasure remain the responsibility of Aphrodite. In the wedding month *Gamelion*, sacrifices are made to her together with her Zeus, Zeus *Heraios*. She is invoked as the wedding preparing, *gamostolos*, as the uniter, *zygia*, and above all as the fulfilled, *teleia*, since marriage is in a special sense the goal and fulfillment of a human life."[41] *Malavisch* might be an Etruscan concept for the *gamostolos* herself "being prepared as a bride" and the motif is thus explained as a very suitable one for a mirror intended as a wedding gift to a real Etruscan bride.[42] This in turn might explain the various gods attending this bridal scenes, e.g. *Aplu* (cf. the third character from the right in the Todi mirror [*Fig. 9*], with unfortunately illegible names, the *ES* II:212 and the Lund mirror) and *Turan* in the Malavisch mirror (*Fig. 6*).

Chronology

There is an acknowledged difficulty in dating Hellenistic Etruscan mirrors. More elaborate members of the *TPD*-group in general have most often been dated to 325–300 B.C.[43] The extensive simplifications of the motif in the Lund mirror might suggest a date well into the third century, around 275 B.C. or somewhat later.

Conclusion

The mirror in Lund here described is related to the *TPD*-mirrors, especially the Lying-figure tympanon subgroup. Its picture-frieze shows the "Adornment of the bride" motif which is here interpreted as having meant to show the goddess Hera, the Etruscan *Uni*, being prepared for the *hieros gamos*. The motif is composed of many various details possibly present in picture-books used by the Etruscan mirror engravers. The motif is believed to be related to the *ILW*-group *Malavisch*-mirrors and the Etruscan word *Malavisch* may be interpreted as an Etruscan personification or symbol for the concept of "the preparation of the bride."

Ingela Wiman
Department of Ancient Culture and Society
Västra Hamngatan 3
S-411 17 Göteborg

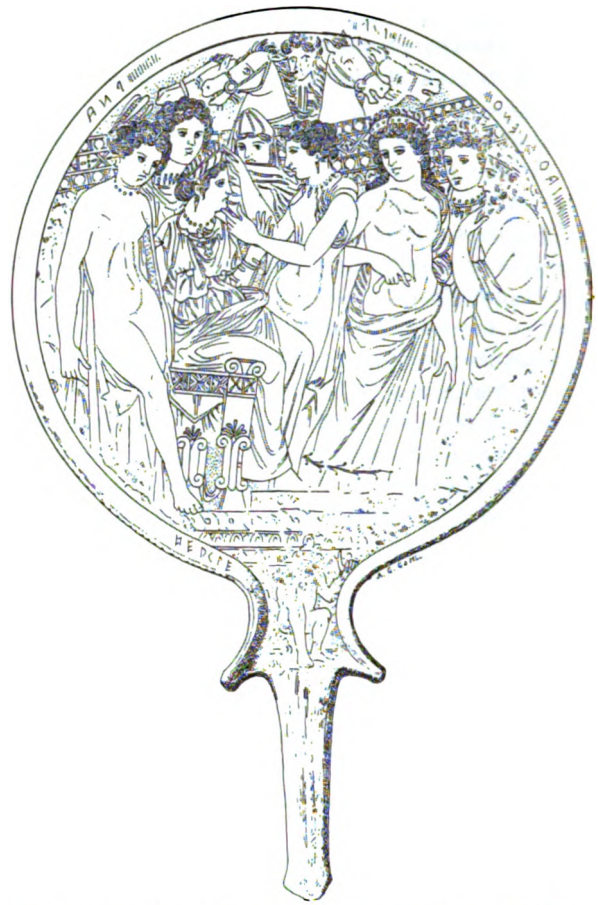

Fig. 9. Mirror from Todi, now in Florence, Museo Archeologico, with an assumed dressing of Helen motif. From *StEtr* 9, 1935, pl. 37.

Acknowledgements
Professor Arvid Andrén gave gracious permission to study and publish his mirror for which I am very grateful. Ms. Pat Marino-Hultman corrected my English. I thank Mr. Bengt Petterson who provided the photography of the mirror and Dr. Örjan Wikander who made the drawings.

Bibliographical abbreviations

Bonfante 1977. 'The Judgement of Paris, the Toilette of Malavisch, and a mirror in the Indiana University Art museum', *StEtr* 1977, 149–168.

CSE. Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum.

ES. E. Gerhard, A. Klügmann & G. Körte, *Etruskische Spiegel* I-V, Berlin 1840–1897.

Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1974. D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, *Le miroir étrusque d'après la collection du Cabinet des Médailles*, Lille 1974.

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Thomson de Grummond 1982. N. Thomson de Grummond, *A guide to Etruscan mirrors*, Tallahasse 1982.
Wiman 1990. I. M. B. Wiman, *Malstria – Malena. Metals and motifs in Etruscan mirror craft* (SIMA, 91), Göteborg 1990.

[1] G. Bendinelli, 'Il tempio etrusco figurato sopra specchi graffiti', *BullCom* 46, 1918, 228–245, fig. 4.
[2] A. Andrén, 'Origine e formazione dell'architettura templare etrusco-italica', *RendPontAcc* 32, 1959–60, 22.
[3] Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1974, pl. 107. In fact the profile and disc size here are very similar to *CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland* 1 (Berlin 1987), cat. no. 30, a Three-Parted Disc (*TPD*) handle mirror, albeit the Lund mirror appears a bit thinner.
[4] *TPD*-mirrors as small as the Lund mirror, disc diameter 138 mm, are generally handle-mirrors. Cf., for instance *CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland* 1, cat. no. 30, a *TPD*-handle mirror without surrounding garland and R. Lambrechts, *Les Miroirs Étrusques et Prénéstines des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles*, Brussels 1978, cat. nos. 23 and 25. These are Laurel-garland handle-mirrors related to the *TPD*-group.
[5] Unpublished description of the mirror.
[6] According to Bonfante this footwear is an archaizing trait used in later times solely for goddesses, and especially for the Etruscan *Uni*. L. Bonfante, *Etruscan dress*, Baltimore 1975, 60–66.
[7] Note the misconception of this engraving artist. He has not mastered (or could not identify from his prototype?) the drawing of the arm and hand holding the lock, very obvious from the mirror *ES* II:212.
[8] There are some exceptions with Flower-garland borders, *CSE France* 1 (Rome 1988), cat. no. 2, *ES* IV:323, *ES* IV:378, *ES* V:77, *ES* V:78, and *ES* V:101
[9] Wiman 1990, 117.
[10] In this case the exergue has been placed very low on the disc and parts of its engraving, a female head in three-quarter profile, is placed on the talon.
[11] Wiman 1990, 117–119.
[12] *CSE France* 1, cat. no. 2 and a mirror from Chiusi, R. Bianci-Bandinelli, *MonAnt* 30, 1925, 542–552. These two interesting mirrors are illustrative in connection with speculations about prototypes and the fate of motifs in Etruscan mirror art, the French mirror obviously copied on the Chiusinian one with resultant simplifications.
[13] *ES* II:166, *ES* III:257B, and *CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland* 2 (Berlin 1988), cat. no. 18. "...the Etruscan god Maris is pictured not as one child-god, but as a multiplicity of child-gods": Thomson de Grummond 1982, 103. Cf., among others, *ES* II:166.
[14] *ES* V:60.
[15] A mirror from Todi now in the Villa Giulia museum, Rome. Illustrated in Thomson de Grummond 1982, pl. 101.
[16] *CSE USA Midwestern Collections* (Iowa 1987), cat. no. 4. See also Bonfante 1977, 149–167.
[17] *ES* V:77.
[18] Belonging to the period Beazley called "the classical" period of the Etruscan mirror – end of the fifth to the end of the fourth century B.C., J. Beazley, 'The world of the Etruscan Mirror', *JHS* 69, 1949, 4.
[19] Cf. Wiman 1990, 114–117 and 192–221.
[20] Bonfante 1977, 158.
[21] Minor arts as suggested by B. van der Meer in 'Archetype – transmitting model – prototype. Studies of Etruscan urns from Volterra, I', *BaBesch* 50, 1975, 179–193.
[22] Discussed by M. Cristofani, 'Il cosidetto specchio di Tachon: un recupero e una nuova lettura', *Prospettiva* 41, 1985, 4–20, fig. 9 (p. 8, top).
[23] Cristofani (supra n. 22), fig. 8 (p. 9, top left).
[24] Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1974, 638: "On peut montrer que les miroirs qui ont reçu l'inscription śuthina ont surtout été ensevelis dans une région précise, le quadrilatère Chiusi-Orvieto-Bolsena-Sovana."
[25] Cf. Cristofani (supra n. 22) and *idem*, 'Faone, la testa di Orfeo e l'immaginario femminile, *Prospettiva* 42, 1985, 2–12, for a discussion on the place of origin of these mirrors.
[26] N. Thomson de Grummond, 'Some unusual landscape conventions in Etruscan art', *AntK* 25, 1982, 3–14.
[27] Bonfante 1977, 160.
[28] Bonfante 1977, 165.
[29] See the preceding note.
[30] Wiman 1990, 119.
[31] There is an interesting, albeit in no way conclusive, possibility to identify the group comparing the metal contents of the British museum *Malavisch* mirror with two *TDP*-mirrors also from the British Museum. They all fall in the same cluster-group and are thus very similarily composed with respect to their metal contents. Wiman 1990, 236.
[32] Cf. Thomson de Grummond 1982, 114. Colonna proposes that *Hinthial* should be perceived as a character and be identified with Psyche: G. Colonna, 'Note di lessico etrusco', *StEtr* 48, 1980, 174–179. B. van der Meer suggests that the characters on the British Museum mirror, discussed above, were "alle Personifikationen bestimmter Toilettenaktivitäten, unter Aufsicht von Göttern wie Turan und Menerva. Ob Malavisch eine mythologische Person ist oder nicht, bleibt leider unklar": 'Malavisch: speculum spectans', *BaBesch* 60, 1985, 96.
[33] Bonfante (supra n. 6), 61.
[34] G. Becatti, *StEtr* 9, 1935, 296–298, pl. 37.
[35] Wiman 1990, 192–212.
[36] Cf. Thomson de Grummond 1982, 128.
[37] Wiman 1990, 59 and 236.
[38] U. Fischer-Graf, *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci* (Archäologische Forschungen, 8), Berlin 1980.
[39] Wiman 1990, 230–239.
[40] Becatti (supra n. 34).
[41] W. Burkert, *Greek religion*, Oxford 1985, 132f.
[42] L. Lamerst suggests the meaning "bride" for Malavisch, Thomson de Grummond 1982, 177.
[43] Bonfante 1977, 166.

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A Pair of Earrings in the Zorn Collections (Mora, Sweden)

Claude Björk

Between November 1st, 1991, and March 22nd, 1992, the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, organized an exhibition of classical antiquities collected by the famous Swedish painter Anders Zorn.[1] Among the various objects was a pair of gold earrings in Hellenistic style (inv. no. ZAG 96–97), of unknown origin, and suspected to be a skilled forgery (*Figs. 1–2*).

Description of ZAG 96–97

Each earring is composed of a nude, winged Eros, cast in solid gold, with two pieces of drapery hanging from the shoulders, which give the impression of a long shawl being wrapped around them. Wings and drapery are cut out of a thin sheet of gold. The faces are very coarse and poorly made (*Fig. 3*). Each figurine holds a wreath of flat twisted gold ribbon in the right and left hand respectively, in a triumphant gesture. Each dangles from a rather thick round gold disc bordered with a thin twisted gold wire and decorated with a stylized flower made of two rows of six-petals each, surrounding tiny gold beads and filled with extremely dark blue enamel. This enamel does not appear to be of very good workmanship.

Each Eros hangs from the decorated disc, thanks to what appears to be, from the front side, a little loop fixed on the top of the head but which is in fact the prolongation of a sturdy and flattish gold hook solidly welded to the back of each torso, between the wings (*Fig. 4*). The disc itself is soldered directly to the thin gold hook which was threaded through the pierced ear of the individual who wore it.

The earrings are in very good condition except for some presumed usewear on the front side of the little Eros. Their total length is 3.5 cm for ZAG 96 and 3.8 cm for ZAG 97, the little Eros being 1.65 cm in both cases.

The earrings were first described in 1947 by Dr. Arvid Andrén in his catalogue on part of this collection.[2] Their authenticity was, however, contested in 1975 by a German scholar, Adolf Greifenhagen, who attributed them to the same workshop as a pair of earrings in the Antikenmuseum in Berlin which he had already established to be a fake on stylistic grounds.[3] And, indeed, although of a much superior workmanship, the earrings from Berlin appear fairly similar to ZAG 96–97.[4] The same triumphant gesture of a somewhat mature Eros, the same drapery around the shoulders, the same flower-like decoration on the disc above the heads and the same kind of hook, soldered on the back of the figurines instead of to the top of their heads.

A preliminary investigation of the techniques used to manufacture ZAG 96–97 gave a first confirmation to Greifenhagen's conclusion.[5] But modern technology offers a new and different approach to the question of how to try to establish the authenticity of ancient gold jewellery. The use of such technology to analyse the chemical composition of metals has resulted in many museums and private collectors, both in the old world and in the new world, discovering that some items of ancient jewellery which they had purchased as genuine, were identified as fakes.

At the turn of this century, a growing interest in ancient jewellery apparently resulted in the fact that, because the supply of genuine material could not meet the demand, a prosperous market arose: the manufacture of fakes – some of them of very good workmanship – which were sold to trusting amateurs and specialists alike. Among the most famous examples, one could

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Fig. 1. Front side of ZAG 96 and 97.

Fig. 2. Rear side of ZAG 96 and 97.

mention the Robinson medallion, dated to Hellenistic times, but which has meanwhile disappeared. It was published in very good faith in the 50's,[6] but denounced some decade later as being a copy and manufactured in Athens.[7]

Gold jewellery from Hellenistic times has been found to contain *c.* 4 % silver and *c.* 1 % copper,[8] or 4 to 10 % silver and 1 % or less copper.[9] Roman gold has been found to contain 90 to 99.9 % pure metal until the reign of emperor Valerian (253 A.D.) when 4 to 13 % silver was added.[10]

Technological investigation

An investigation of the chemical composition of the gold from ZAG 96–97 was conducted in order to seek a definitive answer as to whether the earrings were genuine or fake. ZAG 96–97 were therefore examined by means of energy dispersive spectrometry (EDS) in a scanning electron microscope (SEM), at the Central Board of National Antiquities, Department of Material Analysis, Stockholm, a type of analysis which is non destructive.

The earrings were inserted without any special preparation into the scanning electron microscope and a few diagnostic points were analysed. These were:

97A. The forehead of the solid gold Eros.
97B. The soldering of the raised hand on the wreath.
97C. The gold wreath opposite the hand.
97D. The gold hook on the back of Eros.
97E. The soldering of this hook.
97F. A gold bead on the disc.
97G. The twisted gold ribbon bordering the disc.
97H. The soldering of the hook behind the disc.
97I. The hook behind the disc.
96A. The backside of the disc, near the hook.
96B. The forehead of the solid gold Eros.
96C. The gold drapery.

Presentation of the results *(Table 1)*

97A. The percentage of copper seems normal but the gold is remarkably free from silver, and shows instead traces of metals, like zinc and lead, which are unusual in ancient or native gold.[11]

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Table 1. Result, in weight %, of the chemical analysis.

The chemical symbols are: Au = gold, Ag = silver, Cu = copper, Zn = zinc, Cd = cadmium, S = sulphur, As = arsenic, Sb = antimony, Fe = iron, Pb = lead and Mn = manganese.

Sample	Au	Aq	Cu	Zn	Cd	S	As	Sb	Fe	Pb	Mn
97A	96.6	<0.8	<0.5	<0.6	0	0	<0.1	<0.3	<0.3	<0.6	<0.2
97B	80.4	0	<0.6	<2.1	0	0	0	10.8	<2.0	<4.2	0
97C	95.3	0	2.7	1.7	0	0	0	<0.1	<0.1	0	<0.1
97D	97.6	<0.9	<0.5	<0.2	<0.1	0	0	0	0.7	0	<0.1
97E	69.6	13.7	7.6	0.9	3.2	0	0.7	<0.1	0.6	0	3.5
97F	90.5	2.8	<0.6	0.9	0	0	0	<0.2	1.0	<0.6	2.4
97G	95.1	<0.7	1.0	<0.6	0	0	0	0	0.5	<0.2	2.0
97H	80.2	9.7	5.5	1.1	2.5	0	0.3	0	0.2	0	<0.5
97I	94.5	1.2	2.3	<1.2	<0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0.8
96A	92.6	2.0	1.8	0.6	0	0	0	0	0.3	0	2.3
96B	97.4	<0.5	<0.4	0.1	0.6	0	0.7	<0.1	0.2	0	0
96C	89.4	0.8	5.3	3.7	<0.3	0	<0.3	0.3	0	0	0

97B. The large percentage of antimony in this welding point is of great interest, because an addition of 10.8 % Sb lowers the melting point of gold from 1063°C to 730°C (point A on *Diagram 1*). The addition of lead lowers that point even more, to 300°C (point B on *Diagram 2*). This type of soldering was of very poor quality. One could describe it as hardly more than some temporary "glue" in order to hold together the wreath to the hand. Such a work would not have resisted any use in real life. The relatively large amount of zinc and iron may have come as impurities in the Sb-Pb alloy.[12]

97C. There is still no silver. Instead, the percentage of copper and zinc (cheaper than silver) points more to some modern composition than to genuine ancient gold.[13] There is not enough copper nor zinc to lower the melting point of gold for more than 10–15°C[14] and this is therefore of no practical value for the goldsmith.

97D. The composition of the gold is very close to that of 97A with, however, more iron and less zinc. The same metal was used to manufacture both the little Eros and the hook on its back.

97E. The soldering of 97E is very interesting because it is completely different from that of 97B (the Eros' hand on the wreath). This one was meant to last. The percentage of cadmium (3.2 %) lowers the melting point of gold from 1063°C to 970°C (point C on *Diagram 3*). The existing amounts of silver and copper, which apparently do not seriously affect the melting point of this new alloy, were added certainly to strengthen the gold, and probably also save a little of the precious metal. The presence of manganese is difficult to explain because it only complicates the melting process without changing much the melting point (point D on *Diagram 4*). It might have come in the alloy together with some other metal as contamination.[15] None of these metals have been identified in ancient soldering alloys. The presence of zinc and iron may also have come as impurities as is the case for 97B and 97D.

97F. There is still too little silver, too much zinc, iron, and especially manganese in this gold either to change the melting point of the alloy or to be really ancient.

97G. There is less silver, zinc, iron, lead, but a little more copper and gold than in the preceeding spot. The percentage of manganese is still difficult to explain.

97H. One of the characteristics of Hellenistic jewellers is their knowledge of welding techniques. No difference between the colour of ancient pieces of jewellery and their joint can be detected. The white patch around the hook behind the disc is therefore in itself a sign for caution.[16] There is 9.7 % silver, a value which does not affect much the melting point of gold,[17] but saves some precious metal instead. The evidence of cadmium in what is supposed to be an ancient solder, is a definite indication of forgery.[18] The percentage of gold is the same as in 97B, and the amount of cadmium is not large enough to lower drastically the melting point of gold (see *Diagram 3*). It is obvious that the forger's intention this time was to produce a stronger soldering, but also that his knowledge of genuine Hellenistic technology was poor.

97I. The long thin gold hook which was threaded through the pierced ear of the bearer has a composition which is rather close to that from the twisted band around the disc. But, as there is nonetheless twice as much copper and zinc and half as much manganese, one should suspect a "modern" desire to strengthen the alloy in case the earrings were to be worn, at least a few times, by their new owner.

96A. The gold composition, here, is practically the same as that from the bead of 97F. It indicates that the same metal was used on both front and back sides of the disc.

96B. The forehead of ZAG 96 shows a gold composition very close to that of the forehead of ZAG 97, and this confirms that both earrings were made out of the same material.

96C. The gold drapery hanging from the figure's shoulder shows a very interesting composition. The percentage of copper and zinc are much higher than in any of

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Fig. 3. The features of ZAG 96.

Fig. 4. The flat hook on the back of the torso of ZAG 97.

the other analyses, excepting in the solder points, and there is nearly no silver at all. The addition of copper would give the gold some hardness and resistance[19] which is quite sensible in the case of this thin sheet, but the percentage of zinc was probably added partly to lower the melting point of the gold (1063° to 950°C) and partly also to slightly alter the colour of the copper-gold alloy which, otherwise, would be different from the rest of the jewel. Both additions are nonetheless a modern solution to an ancient problem.

A few remarks, based on comparison with already published analyses of ancient gold, can also be made directly from the results of the EDS in the table.

The total absence of sulphur in any of the analysed places is highly surprising, because very small percentages of sulphur, antimony and arsenic are typical of most ancient alloys. These metals are, however, totally absent in modern commercial copper alloy used for soldering processes.[20] The 10.8 % of antimony existing in 97B shows that the forger had a knowledge of the reactions of this metal as an alloy which might have been unknown in Hellenistic times.

Cadmium is a minor additive in modern silver-gold alloy and any amount of this metal in so-called ancient solder is a sure sign of a modern copy.[21] And there is as much as 3.2 % cadmium in the solder of the big loop on the back of the analysed Eros (ZAG 97).

Zinc in any amount should not be present in ancient copper alloy, and ancient gold seldom contains more than some tenth of one per cent of zinc. The loop on the back of the Eros while lacking the normal amount of silver to be ancient, shows, however, a quantity of zinc which could be acceptable. Still, the large percentage of this metal in the other parts of the earrings does not indicate that we have here a genuine piece of ancient jewellery.

The presence of between 2.3 % to 3.5 % manganese and only in places close or related to welding points (soldering of hook, gold bead on disc, twisted gold ribbon around disc) seems to point at a deliberate use

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of this metal into the alloy used for soldering processes on this piece of jewellery which is very difficult to understand. Manganese usually comes together with iron but it oxidizes and disappears at much lower temperatures than iron. The possibility of contamination, in the light of the evidence, is the most logical explanation (see above, 97E).

A very recent spectral analysis of some modern alluvial gold has also showed that its major elements were gold and silver with only traces of a large array of other metals as impurities.[22] By simply heating up this natural metal for a very short time a little above the melting point of this natural alloy gold-silver, however, all other elements but silver and the traces of copper, lead and bismuth were removed as slag and the metal greatly purified by this simple procedure. It was also much easier to work with.[23]

Supplementary analysis of the enamel (*Table 2*)

Moreover, there is also the question of the enamel. Enamel on gold was very popular in Hellenistic times, especially gold from Hellenistic Italy, and much less common in Roman times, when it seems to have been found mostly at the outer frontiers of the empire, namely in Britain and Egypt.[24]

The six-petalled flowers in filigree on the discs of ZAG 96–97 are filled with a very dark enamel which appears black at first but is in reality very dark blue when viewed by means of an optical microscope. Two points were analysed: 97–1 (a large outer petal) and 97–2 (a small inner petal).

This composition seems rather normal, but is at the same time also relatively "modern". A comparison to Iron-Age Roman enamels shows some discrepancies which also point toward a forgery for ZAG 96–97.

Potassium is rare, and seldom even up to 1 %, in ancient enamel,[25] and we have up to 8.9 % in the outer petals of the larger flower.

Zinc, here, is an unintentional addition, usually associated with copper and rarely being more than 0.2–0.8 % in ancient enamel.[26] The proportion of 2.8 % and 4.0 % – much more than the percentage of copper – is indeed to be noted.

The very high ratio of manganese to cobalt (5:1) explains the very dark blue-black colour of the enamel.[27] There should be less than 1 % manganese in ancient enamel as it usually appears more as an impurity than a specific addition.[28] In late Roman Iron Age, 0.4 % cobalt has been found to be enough to colour enamel in blue.[29] The 2 % cobalt in these earrings suggest, not only the use of manganiferous ores but also a very heavy but limited local contamination, quite on the same level as the percentage of Mn in the welding points, mentioned a little earlier in this paper.

There is very little work published on the problem of decay or weathering of enamel, but it has been observed that it usually turns to a green or creamy colour, rarely black, as is the case for ZAG 96–97. And blue has a very high rate of decay.[30]

The cracks in the enamel which can be observed with the naked eye are probably due to some problems with the paste composition which did not react properly during the cooling process.[31] It would seem that the workman who enamelled the earrings was not as skilled in his trade as the goldsmith who manufactured the rest of the piece. And going back to the way the different solderings have been executed, it seems that there were at least two persons – if not more – involved in the making of this piece of jewellery. This, together with the fact that every analysed point of the earrings shows a different gold composition, indeed also points towards a workshop with several craftmen, thus validating Greifenhagen's remarks of 1975, especially also in the light of the differences between the earrings in Berlin and ZAG 96–97.

Table 2. The chemical composition of the enamel, in weight %.

The chemical symbols are: Si = silicium, S = sulphur, K = potassium, Ca = calcium, Mn = manganese, Fe = iron, Co = cobalt, Cu = copper, Zn = zinc and Pb = lead.

Sample	Si	S	K	Ca	Mn	Fe	Co	Cu	Zn	Pb
97–1	31.3	6.9	8.9	6.9	9.9	2.3	2.0	3.0	2.8	25.9
97–2	22.6	8.9	6.8	6.6	10.7	2.8	1.7	3.0	4.0	32.9

Conclusion

The result of the chemical analysis of the gold from ZAG 96–97 confirms Greifenhagen's judgement based on stylistic observations. The earrings are not a product of any Hellenistic workshop but of a more modern

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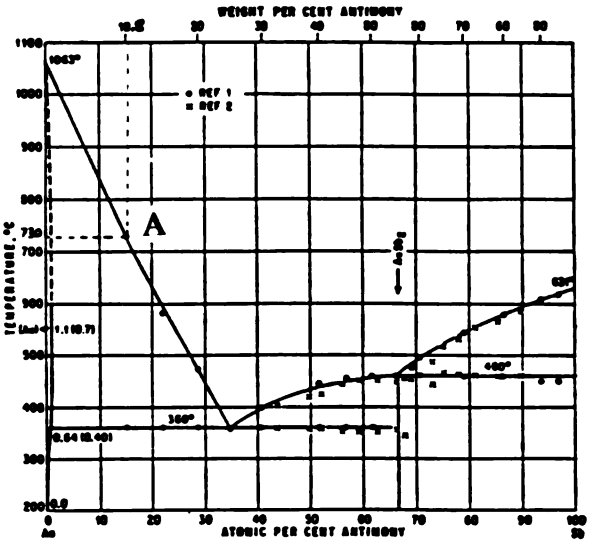

Diagram 1. Phase relationship gold-antimony at temperatures between 200–1100°C. Point A shows the new melting point of the alloy Au-Sb. (After Hansen & Anderko, 1986, 231).

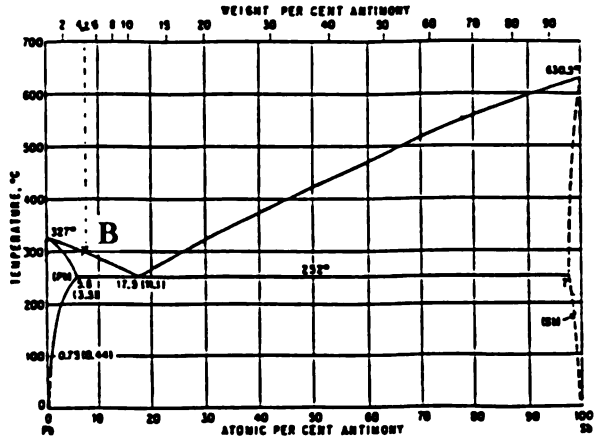

Diagram 2. Phase relationship antimony-lead at temperatures between 0–700°C. Point B shows the melting point of the new alloy. (After Hansen & Anderko, 1986, 1101).

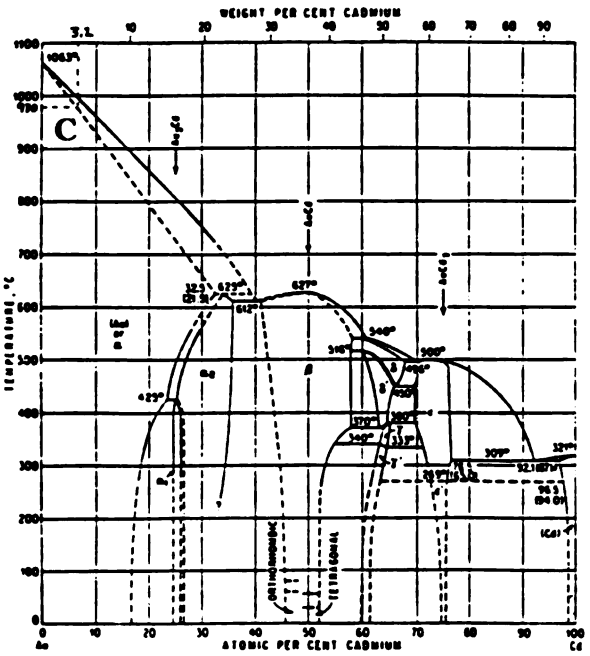

Diagram 3. Phase relationship gold-cadmium at temperatures between 0–1100°C. Point C shows the new melting point of the alloy Au-Cd. (After Hansen & Anderko, 1986, 192).

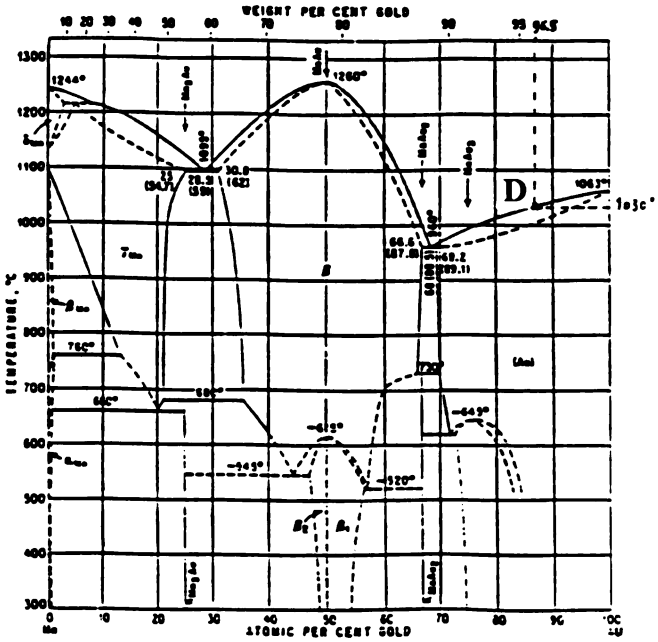

Diagram 4. Phase relationship gold-manganese at temperatures between 300–1300°C. Point D shows the new melting point of alloy Au-Mn. Each peak of the upper curve indicates a new phase, i.e., change, in the alloy. (After Hansen & Anderko, 1986, 216).

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group of more or less skilled forgers. Greifenhagen dated and located this workshop, which apparently also produced the earrings in the Berlin Museum, in pre-First World War Istanbul. Anders Zorn (1860-1920) often travelled in the countries around the Mediterranean, and visited this city on his honeymoon, in 1886. Although it is doubtful whether he actually bought the earrings at that time, they could have been purchased during any of his later visits to these shores, or when he seriously started to collect antiquities, around 1908.[32]

There are at least three reasons why technological analyses such as SEM/EDS are useful for museum studies of small object in metal. Firstly, they do not destroy the object being analysed. Secondly, they do not need elaborate preparations prior to the actual analysis. And thirdly, they are objective. They confirm – or refute – judgements based only on stylistic grounds.

But it should not be forgotten that, although the occurrence is not very common, there is the possibility of forgers using authentic ancient metal – coins or bits and pieces of ancient jewellery that otherwise could not be sold – to manufacture perfect copies. In the case of ZAG 96–97, we were fortunate not to have encountered such a contingency, but it stresses the fact that modern analyses cannot totally replace, only complement, more traditional means of identification, even if these methods imply a theoretical risk of subjectivity in the final judgement.

Claude Björk
University of Stockholm
Department of Ancient Culture and Society
S-10691 Stockholm

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[1] This collection is kept in the Zorn Collections at Mora, Sweden.

[2] A. Andrén, 'Classical Antiquities in the Zorn Collection', *OpArch* 5 (ActaRom-4°, 13), 1947, 51, nos. 96–97, pl. 21.

[3] A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, Berlin 1975, 50, Taf. 41, 2, Abb. 39–41. He located this workshop in the 'Bazaar von Konstantinopel'.

[4] Thanks to the kindness of Dr. Gertrud Platz, from the Antikenmuseum und Schatzkammer, Berlin, where the earrings are kept, a first hand investigation revealed that, although the technique are similar in both cases, the quality of their workmanship is much superior to that of ZAG 96–97, especially in the rendering of the faces of the Eros and of the hand which does not hold up the wreath. The hands of ZAG 96–97 are very poorly made and hidden under the drapery while the "German" Eros figures hold something looking roughly like a mask in their hand as it is often the case for this type of mythological figurine. The rendering of the faces is also strikingly different. The features of the Eros figures from Berlin are pretty while those from ZAG 96–97 are really ugly. It should also be noted that the decorated discs of the earrings from Berlin show no traces of enamel.

[5] This analysis showed that ZAG 96–97 were manufactured with the help of tools which were never used by Hellenistic goldsmiths. For instance, wings and draperies were cut out of a sheet of gold with shears and not with chisels or knives (Ogden (infra n. 7), 161).

[6] D.M. Robinson, 'Unpublished Greek gold jewelry and gems', *AJA* 57, 1953, 5–19, pls. 3–25.

[7] J. Ogden, *Jewellery of the ancient world*, London 1982, 164. About this "Workshop", see also H. Hoffmann, 'Greek gold reconsidered', *AJA* 73, 1969, 448–451 (especially note 10), pls. 125–126.

[8] H. Hoffmann & P.F. Davidson, *Greek gold jewelry from the age of Alexander*, Mainz/Rhein 1965, 22, 49.

[9] C. Eluère, *Secrets of ancient gold*, Guin-Düdingen (Switzerland) 1989, 115.

[10] Ogden (supra n. 7), 19; Eluère (supra n. 9), 130.

[11] Ogden (supra n. 7), 152.

[12] Professor Seetharaman, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm (personal communication).

[13] Professor Seetharaman (personal communication).

[14] M. Hansen & K. Anderko, *Constitution of binary alloys*, New York 1986, 199, fig. 118; 242, fig. 142.

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[15] Professor Seetharaman (personal communication).
[16] Hoffmann & Davidson (supra n. 8), 42.
[17] Hansen & Anderko (supra n. 14), 6, fig. 3.
[18] Ogden (supra n. 7), 152.
[19] Eluère (supra n. 9), 123.
[20] Ogden (supra n. 7), 152.
[21] Hoffmann & Davidson (supra n. 8), 152.
[22] C. Eluère & C. J. Raub, 'New investigation on early gold foil manufacture', in E. Pernicka & G. A. Wagner (eds.), *Archaeometry ' 90*, Basel 1991, 45–54. This gold came from modern southern France, but the composition of this metal would not differ much from any ancient alluvial gold, from Greece or elsewhere, unless the specific composition, with all the trace elements, were to be taken into account which was not the case in this experiment.
[23] Eluère & Raub (supra n. 22), 52.
[24] Ogden (supra n. 7), 134; Eluère (supra n. 9), 216.
[25] J.D. Bateson, *Enamel-working in Iron Age Britain, Roman and Sub-Roman Britain. The products and the techniques* (BAR British Series 93), Oxford 1981, 72.
[26] Bateson (supra n. 25), 73.
[27] M-M. Gauthier, *Emaux limousins champlevés du XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Paris 1950, 18.
[28] Bateson (supra n. 25), 73.
[29] J. Henderson, 'Chemical and structural analysis of Roman enamels from Britain', in E. Pernicka & G. A. Wagner (supra n. 22), 285–294, esp. 288.
[30] Bateson (supra n. 25), 76.
[31] Bateson (supra n. 25), 77.
[32] H. H. Brummer, 'Zorn och antiken', in *Zorn och antiken* (Medelhavsmuseet, Skrifter 16), Stockholm 1991, 8. There are no details in the correspondance of Anders Zorn about where and when he purchased these earrings and there is no indication either, like photographs or sketches, that Mrs. Emma Zorn ever wore them (personal communication from Dr. Birgitta Sandström, Director of the Zorn Collections in Mora).

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Ein Riefelsarkophag mit Tierkampfdarstellungen in Stockholm

Jutta Stroszeck

Häufig verschwinden Sarkophage, die als Brunnen oder sonstiger Schmuck öffentlich oder in Privatbesitz aufgestellt waren, von ihrem angestammten Platz[1], sie wechseln den Besitzer, werden absichtlich zerstört oder landen in Auktionshäusern. Den Verbleib der Stücke oder Fragmente festzustellen, gestaltet sich manchmal schwierig und einige verschwinden scheinbar spurlos.

Für jeden, der mit diesem Problem konfrontiert wird (und bei welchem Archäologen wäre das nicht der Fall?), ist es daher ein kleiner Trost, wenn ausnahmsweise einmal ein „alter Bekannter" unvermutet wiederbegegnet.

So stieß ich bei der Arbeit über stadtrömische Löwensarkophage durch einen Hinweis von P. Hellström auf das im folgenden zu besprechende Stück. Es befindet sich derzeit als Leihgabe im Stockholmer Medelhavsmuseet (*Abb. 1*).

Anhand der freundlicherweise vom Museum zur Verfügung gestellten Photos gelang es, den Stockholmer Sarkophag mit einem bei Matz & Duhn[2] beschriebenen zu identifizieren, der sich bis 1881 in der Villa Rondinini[3] bei der Porta San Lorenzo in Rom befunden hatte. Im Dezember 1917 tauchte er bei dem Münchener Kunsthändler Bernheimer auf, von dem er für die Sammlung Bergsten in Stockholm erworben wurde[4]. Heute gehört das Stück dem Karolinska Institutet. Seit Juni 1989 befindet es sich im Medelhavsmuseet[5].

Der Kasten des Sarkophages ist vollständig erhalten. An den Enden der Vorderseite sind mehrere Sprünge geflickt. Nase und Mund des Porträts sind bestoßen, im Maul der Löwen fehlt jeweils der äußere Eckzahn.

Der hintere Teil der linken Nebenseite (*Abb. 3*) ist offenbar ergänzt, wie die im oberen Teil gut sichtbare, vertikale Fuge zwischen dem dunkleren (antiken) Vorderteil und der helleren rückwärtigen Partie deutlich erkennen läßt. Auf der rechten Nebenseite (*Abb. 4*) sind an der Schulter des Löwen und am Kopf des Wärters sowie hinter dessen Rücken Teile ergänzt. Ein vertikal durch den Arm des Mannes und den Bauch des Löwen verlaufender Bruch ist zugeschmiert. Kopf und Chlamys des Wärters dieser Seite sind nachantik überarbeitet worden. Von der Chlamys sind infolgedessen nur die Falten vor der Brust erhalten, während die unteren, bogenförmigen Falten in einem breiten Streifen abgearbeitet sind und der nachwehende Teil des Mäntelchens fehlt.

Die Beine der Jünglinge und das zweite Hinterbein des Löwen waren schon in der Antike nicht in Relief ausgeführt worden. Diese Teile fehlen bei Löwensarkophagen häufiger. Sofern sie nicht durch Bemalung angegeben waren, wurden sie einfach vernachlässigt[6].

Der Sarkophag ist aus verschiedenen Gründen ein interessantes Einzelstück, das uns Einblick in die Arbeitsweise der Sarkophagwerkstätten gewährt. Zwar gehört er zur großen Gruppe der Löwensarkophage mit der Darstellung von Tierkämpfen an den Nebenseiten, er fällt jedoch dadurch auf, daß er eine rechteckige Grundform (Kastenform) hat, deren Kanten nur notdürftig gerundet worden sind. Normalerweise wurden Sarkophage dieser Gattung aus Rohlingen ovaler Form hergestellt[7]. Zum Zeitpunkt des Auftrages scheint in der Werkstatt also kein passender Sarkophagrohling vorhanden gewesen zu sein, weshalb man auf einen vorhandenen rechteckigen zurückgriff[8]. Dabei stellte sich aber ein weiteres Problem: Die ovalen Rohlinge waren meist mit Bossen an der Vorderseite versehen worden, aus denen bequem der Löwenkopf gearbeitet werden konnte. Solche fehlten aber in der Regel bei Kastenrohformen. Man hätte nun den Löwenkopf ganz flach aus dem vorhandenen Material arbeiten können[9], aber man zog es vor, das an den Kanten anstehende Material zu nutzen, indem man einen „zurückblicken-

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Abb. 1. Stockholmer Riefelsarkophag mit Löwentierkampfdarstellungen, Vorderseite.

den" Löwen schuf, dessen Maul aus der Ecke des Kastenrohlings gearbeitet wurde (*Abb. 3–6*). Auf der Kante der Nebenseite erscheint daher oben der weit aufgerissene, brüllende Rachen des Löwen. Diese Lösung ist nicht allein dem originellen Einfall des Bildhauers unseres Sarkophages zu verdanken, sie begegnet noch bei mehreren Löwensarkophagen[10], wesentlich gelungener etwa bei einem Beispiel, das 1936 in Valmontone entdeckt wurde[11] und sich heute im Museo Nazionale Romano in Rom befindet (*Abb. 7*).

Der größte Teil der Vorderseite des Stockholmer Sarkophages (*Abb. 1*) ist mit je 14 gegenläufigen, geschwungenen Riefeln verziert, aus denen im Zentrum der Hauptseite ein runder, profilierter Clipeus ausgespart ist. Das darunter frei bleibende Feld ist für eine figürliche Darstellung genutzt. Am oberen und unteren Rand begleiten Profile die Riefelfelder, zu den Seiten hin werden sie von vertikalen Leisten abgeschlossen. An den Nebenseiten sind lediglich die glatten Randleisten der Profile weitergeführt.

Im Clipeus (*Abb. 8*) ist frontal die Büste eines bärtigen Mannes wiedergegeben, deren Ausschnitt den ganzen Oberkörper bis zur Taille einschließt. Die rechte Hand des in Tunika und Mantel Gekleideten greift vor der Brust in den Mantelbausch, der linke Arm ist gesenkt. Dieselbe Büstenform konnte austauschbar für männliche oder weibliche Porträts verwendet werden, wie das weibliche Porträt auf einer gleichartigen Büste beim Löwensarkophag mit Tierkämpfen in Malibu[12] zeigt.

Das Porträt des Mannes ist aus einer längsovalen Bosse gearbeitet. Die Ohren stehen ab. Den Kopfumriß begleitet eine abgearbeitete Vertiefung, die nicht unbedingt von einer späteren Umarbeitung herrühren muß. Bekanntlich beschäftigten die Sarkophagwerkstätten eigene Porträtspezialisten, die häufig aus extra dafür unfertig belassenen Bossen die Bildnisse der Verstorbenen schufen[13]. So konnte man, je nach Auftrag, auf einer „neutralen" Büste einen männlichen oder weiblichen Kopf anbringen. Da es sich nur um verschiedene Arbeitsschritte handelt, muß kein nennenswerter zeitlicher Abstand zwischen der Ausarbeitung der figürlichen Reliefs und des Porträts an demselben Sarkophag liegen.

Der Verstorbene trägt einen kurzen, mit wenigen Meißelhieben angegebenen Bart, der Kinn, Wangen und Oberlippe bedeckt. Seine Frisur ist militärisch-knapp: Die Haarmasse liegt dicht am Oberkopf an. Sie ist ebenfalls mit kurzen, strichförmigen Meißelhieben gegliedert. Zwischen den ausgeprägten Geheimratsekken ist die Kontur des Stirnhaares konvex geschwungen. Den Gesichtsausdruck prägen übergroße Augen mit dicken Lidern. Die Augenbohrung sitzt direkt unter der Oberlidkante. Zwei Querfalten furchen die Stirn, deren untere von zwei Vertikalfalten über der Nasenwurzel unterbrochen wird.

Die Nase war fleischig mit breiten Flügeln, von ihr führen zwei scharfe Falten abwärts, die in das erschlaffende Inkarnat der vollen Wangen eingetragen sind. Vom fest geschlossenen Mund setzt sich das Kinn mit einer deutlichen Furche ab. Die betonte Frontalität, die großen Augen und die deutlichen Altersmerkmale mit den cura-Falten in Verbindung mit der Kurzhaartracht lassen sich mehreren Porträts gut vergleichen, die in

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Abb. 3. Stockholmer Sarkophag, linke Nebenseite.

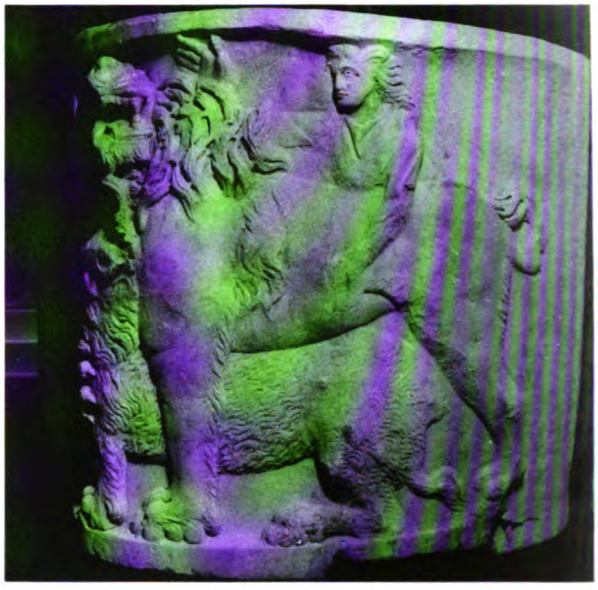

Abb. 4. Stockholmer Sarkophag, rechte Nebenseite.

Abb. 5. Stockholmer Sarkophag, linke Kante.

Abb. 6. Stockholmer Sarkophag, **rechte Kante**.

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nachgallienischer bis frühtetrarchischer Zeit entstanden sein müssen[14]. Der Kopf wird deshalb im selben Zeitraum, am ehesten um 280 n.Chr. anzusetzen sein. Besonders gut schließt sich ein von N. Himmelmann[15] tetrarchisch datiertes Bildnis in Bonn an, das neben der gleichen Frisur auch die großen Augen mit der Bohrung direkt unter dem oberen Lidrand aufweist.

Der ermittelte Ansatz des Porträts in die Jahre um 280 n.Chr. steht nicht im Widerspruch zur Datierung der restlichen Darstellungen des Sarkophages, wie im folgenden zu zeigen sein wird.

Im Feld unter dem Clipeus, das seitlich von zwei flachen Leisten gerahmt wird, spielt sich vor einem geknoteten Parapetasma die folgende kleine Szene ab: Links sitzt auf einem niedrigen Schemel mit Löwenfüßen[16] ein Mann nach rechts. Mit beiden Händen hält er vor sich eine geöffnete Schriftrolle, in der er liest. Er ist ganz in einen Mantel gewickelt und trägt Sandalen. Diese Tracht, das lange Haupthaar und der lange Bart kennzeichnen ihn als Philosophen oder Dichter[17]. Ihm gegenüber sitzt auf der Kante eines Klapphockers eine ebenfalls ganz in ihren Mantel gehüllte Frau (nur der untere Saum ihres Chitons ist sichtbar). Sie weist mit ihrer erhobenen Rechten in die Richtung des Philosophen, während die Linke in ihrem Schoß eine Schriftrolle hält[18]. Ihr Haar liegt glatt an der Kalotte an, die Seitensträhnen sind jedoch locker eingeschlagen und zum Nacken geführt. Über der Stirn ragen zwei Federn auf, die die Sitzende als Muse kennzeichnen.

Wiedergegeben ist also ein (Streit-)Gespräch zwischen einer Muse und einem Weisen. Die Komposition der sitzenden Gestalten entspricht dem verfügbaren Bildrahmen sehr gut, sie stellt jedoch eine Abweichung vom üblichen Schema dar. Meist wird das Thema so dargestellt, daß dem sitzenden Weisen eine stehende Muse gegenübergestellt ist, etwa auf dem berühmten Londoner Deckelfragment des M. Sempronius Nikokrates[19], wo diese Komposition gleich zweimal begegnet. Bei dem bereits erwähnten Sarkophagfragment im Kreuzgang von S. Paolo fuori le Mura in Rom finden wir diese Szene im Bildfeld unter dem Clipeus[20].

Eine Benennung der sitzenden Muse des Stockholmer Sarkophages ist nicht ganz sicher vorzunehmen. Am ehesten entspricht sie einem von K.M. Türr als „Kalliope" bezeichneten Typus[21] mit vergleichbarem Sitzmotiv, der die Muse in ähnlicher Weise gestikulierend zeigt. Von der Stockholmer Muse unterscheiden sich die Repliken der Kalliope hauptsächlich durch das Gewand: der Mantel ist nur um den Unterkörper geführt. Die sogenannte „Frankfurter Urania" ist dagegen zwar ganz in ihren Mantel gehüllt[22], sie hat aber die Beine wie die Tyche von Antiochia überschlagen und scheidet daher als Vorbild aus. Zu Kalliope paßt auch das Attribut der Buchrolle besser. Der weise Alte und die Muse sitzen einander an den Enden einer Reihe von Riefelsarkophagen gegenüber[23], bei denen sie durch Porträtköpfe als Sterbliche kenntlich gemacht sind. Nach G. Koch sind all diese Exemplare in der zweiten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts entstanden[24]. Unter dem formalen Einfluß dieser Komposition könnte bei dem Stockholmer Sarkophag die geläufige Darstellung des sitzenden Weisen mit stehender Muse zugunsten zweier sitzender Gestalten aufgegeben worden sein.

Beide Nebenseiten zeigen Tierkampfgruppen (*Abb. 3–4*): Ein Löwe reißt jeweils einen Eber, in dessen Hals er eine Vorderpranke geschlagen hat. Dabei steht er über seiner zu Boden gehenden Beute. Hinter der Gruppe steht jeweils ein Wärter, der dem Löwen eine Hand auf den Bauch legt und die andere nach vorne streckt, als wollte er das Tier antreiben[25]. Nur bei der rechten Darstellung ist über dem Löwenkopf die geöffnete Handfläche des ausgestreckten Armes sichtbar (*Abb. 4*). Links verschwindet diese Hand hinter dem Löwenkopf (*Abb. 3*), während rechts die geöffnete Handfläche zu sehen ist. Beide Wärter haben langes, lockiges Haar. Derjenige links trägt eine langärmelige Tunika und darüber einen Mantel, der auf der rechten Schulter mit einer Fibel gehalten wird. Der rechte trägt eine kurzärmelige Tunika, seine Chlamys ist fast ganz abgearbeitet.

Solche Wärter treten, mit unterschiedlichen Attributen, bei vielen der etwa zweihundert bisher bekannten Sarkophage mit Löwentierkämpfen auf. Nach ihrer Ausrüstung sind zu unterscheiden[26]: Herolde mit einem (Muschel)Horn (*apparitores*), Wärter bzw. Tierpfleger ohne Attribute oder mit einem kurzen Spieß, der zusätzlich mit einem sichelförmig gebogenen Haken am oberen Ende ausgestattet ist (*adiutores ad feras*), Dompteure mit einem kurzen Stab (*mansuetudinarii*) sowie professionelle Tierkämpfer mit Waffen (*venatores, bestiarii, confectores*). Die Begleiter der Löwen auf dem Stockholmer Sarkophag sind wegen ihrer anfeuernden Gesten trotz fehlender Attribute am ehesten als Wärter zu interpretieren.

Interessant ist die Wiedergabe der Tiere selbst (*Abb. 3–6*). Der umgewendete Kopf des Löwen ist mit weit aufgerissenem Rachen dargestellt (wofür die Ecke des Sarkophagkastens genügend Material bot), die Reißzähne sind aufeinandergestellt, die Lefzen hochgezogen. Die sonst so prächtig ausgestaltete Stirnmähne ist

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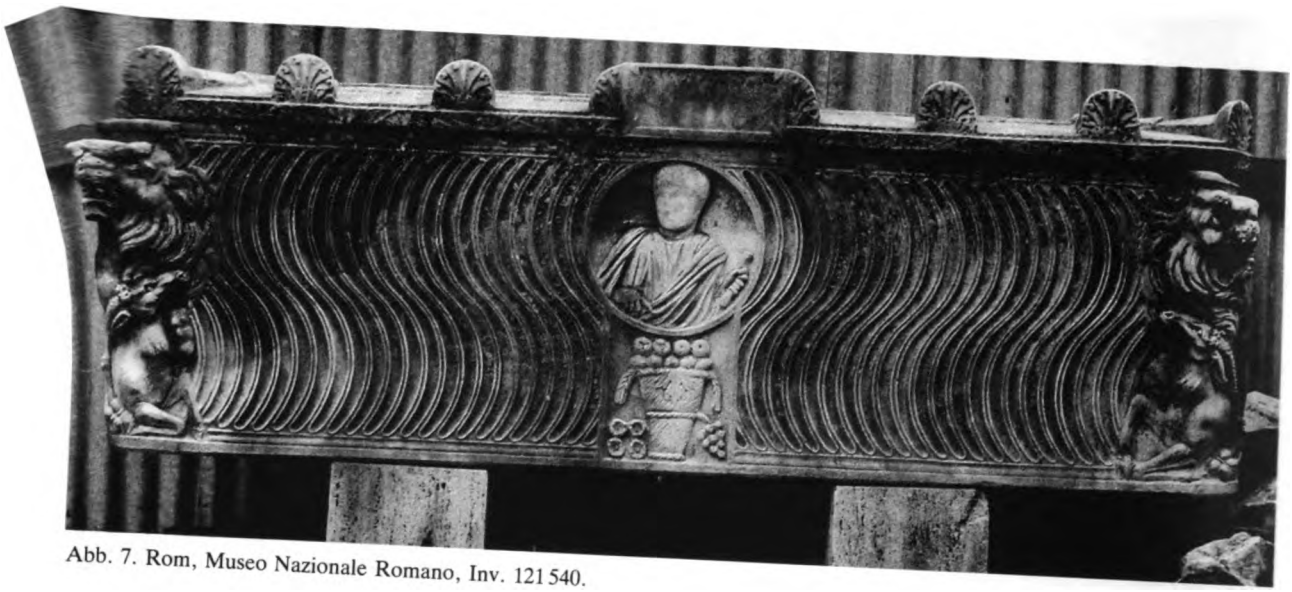

Abb. 7. Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 121540.

auf wenige Strähnen beschränkt, die Seitenmähne in parallelen, sichelförmigen Büscheln nach unten gekämmt. Beim linken Löwen (*Abb. 3*) gliedert sich die Nackenmähne in zwei hintereinandergeordnete Reihen regelmäßiger, nach innen bzw. unten gestrichener Büschel, während sie beim rechten Löwen (*Abb. 4*) in ungeordneten, langen Zotteln fällt. Hinter der Schulter setzen bis zum Ansatz der Beine beiderseits lange Zotteln an. Der Schwanz des Löwen ist auf der erhaltenen rechten wie auf der ergänzten linken Seite unnatürlich kurz mit der behaarten Quaste am Ende wiedergegeben und nach oben eingerollt.

Eber finden sich auf Sarkophagen mit Löwentierkämpfen bei weitem als häufigstes Opfer des Löwen. Der Stockholmer Sarkophag zeigt den Keiler mit borstiger Halsmähne, hochstehendem Nackenkamm, tütenförmigen Ohren und kleinen Augen (*Abb. 5–6*). Seitlich des Rüssels ragen aus dem Unterkiefer zwei scharf gebogene Hauer auf, aus dem Oberkiefer die ebenfalls gebogenen Eckzähne, an denen die Hauer immer von neuem scharf gewetzt werden. Anstelle der gespaltenen Klauen mit Afterzehe, wie in der Natur, hat hier der Keiler vom Sarkophagbildhauer vier große Löwenpranken erhalten. Der Handwerker benutzte also offenbar völlig unreflektiert seine „Tatzenschablone" mehrfach. An diesem interessanten Einzelfall zeigt sich somit deutlich die versatzstückhafte Arbeitsweise in den Sarkophagwerkstätten. Ähnlich sind vermutlich die Oberkörper der Tierwärter angebracht worden, da häufig deren Beine nicht in Relief angegeben worden sind. Dies konnte allerdings bei der Bemalung des Stückes wettgemacht werden[27]. Die arbeitsteilige Produktionsweise war bei Aufträgen für Marmorsarkophage sicher besonders kostengünstig, zumal, wenn – wie im vorliegenden Fall – eine teilweise vorbereitete Rohform verwendet werden konnte. Nachdem vom Meister eine Vorzeichnung oder -bossierung vorgenommen worden war, wurden in aufeinanderfolgenden Schritten die Löwenköpfe, die Oberkörper der Wärter, Körper und Beine der Tiere gearbeitet. Das Gesamtkonzept blieb durch die Vorzeichnung gewahrt, außerdem konnte mit relativ geringem Zeitaufwand produziert werden. So offensichtliche Fehler wie bei dem Stockholmer Sarkophag sind außerordentlich selten zu beobachten[28].

Man darf sicherlich davon ausgehen, daß es sich bei unserem Stück um eine Auftragsarbeit handelte[29]. Der Grabinhaber legte entweder noch zu seinen Lebzeiten den figürlichen Bildschmuck seines Sarkophages fest, oder seine Nachkommen verfügten über das Aussehen seines Grabes.

Im vorliegenden Fall wählte man zwei große Themenbereiche aus: Unterhaltung und Bildung. Der Bildungsanspruch des Verstorbenen konnte durch die vignettenhafte Darstellung von Weisem und Muse ausreichend formuliert werden. Durch den Hinweis auf seine Beschäftigung mit Dichtung oder Philosophie im diesseitigen Leben durfte der Verstorbene hoffen, den Tod zu überwinden[30]. Auf einen anderen Bereich des Lebens vor dem Tode führen die Tierkampfdarstellungen.

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Hier wird auf die Unterhaltungen des Diesseits angespielt, mit denen der Verstorbene seine Mitmenschen erfreute (indem er Spiele veranstaltete), oder an denen er selbst, aktiv oder passiv, teilgenommen hatte[31]. Die seitlichen Motive erfüllten also möglicherweise zum einen repräsentative Zwecke; gleichzeitig konnten die Löwen noch ihre traditionelle Funktion als Grabwächter am Sarkophag wahrnehmen[32]. Der Sieg des Löwen im Tierkampf mag darüber hinaus auch als symbolhafte Formel für den Sieg über den Tod verstanden worden sein[33].

Beide Themen, die den Sarkophag schmücken, zeigen so auf unterschiedliche Weise, wie der Verstorbene aus seinem diesseitigen Leben für das Dasein nach dem Tode schöpft.

Das Tierkampfthema tritt noch zweimal in Verbindung mit den Musen auf: In ganz ähnlicher Weise sind beide Themen auf dem erwähnten Sarkophag in S. Paolo fuori le Mura in Rom verbunden[34]. Hier schlägt der Löwe an der allein erhaltenen linken Nebenseite einen Hirsch, hinter der Gruppe steht wieder ein Wärter. K. Fittschen datierte das Porträt dieses Sarkophages in die Zeit zwischen Severus Alexander und die Söhne des Decius, das heißt in das zweite Viertel des dritten Jahrhunderts n.Chr.[35]. In jener Zeit wird die Kurzhaarfrisur des Mannes erstmals modern, ihr Auftreten an den kaiserlichen Porträts ist jedoch nur als *terminus post quem* zu werten. Der römische Sarkophag muß nach der Ausarbeitung der Tierkampfszene, insbesondere der Mähne, und wegen der plastischeren Gewandbehandlung noch vor dem Stockholmer Stück, aber nach der Mitte des dritten Jahrhunderts entstanden sein. In das dritte Viertel dieses Jahrhunderts gehört demnach auch das Porträt, das noch nicht die Frontalität des Stockholmer Stückes aufweist.

Im Dom von Arezzo befindet sich ein weiterer Riefelsarkophag[36], bei dem das Tierkampfthema mit dem Musenthema verbunden ist. Das unvollendete Stück wurde für eine Frau benutzt, wie das Porträt der Verstorbenen im Mittelfeld zeigt, die zwischen einem bärtigen Philosophen zu ihrer Rechten und einer Muse zu ihrer Linken stehend dargestellt ist. Die „modische Frisur" der Verstorbenen stellt auch hier nur eine grobe Datierungshilfe dar. Sie trägt einen Mittelscheitel, von dem aus die Haare – die Ohren freilassend – zum Nacken gekämmt sind. Ein Nest oder ein Zopfband im Nacken ist nicht sichtbar. Schlichte Frisuren wie diese treten in mittelseverischer Zeit zuerst auf und waren bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts in Gebrauch[37]. Die Löwen an den Nebenseiten des Sarkophages reißen jeweils einen Esel. Hinter diesen Gruppen steht wieder ein Tierwärter, der eine Hand auf die Flanke des Raubtieres legt; vorneweg schreitet jeweils ein in eine wadenlange Tunika gekleideter Dompteur mit seinem charakteristischen Stab in der Hand. Die nur mit dem Meißel angelegten Löwenmähnen lassen sich denjenigen an ausgearbeiteten Stücken im Museo Nazionale in Rom[38] und Lucca[39] vergleichen; die schematischen Gewandfalten der Figuren der Mittelgruppe finden sich an einem von P. Kranz tetrarchisch datierten Sarkophag in Palermo[40] wieder. Demnach wird der Sarkophag in Arezzo gegen Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts entstanden sein.

Der Grundgedanke aller drei Sarkophagbesteller bei der Auswahl ihrer Themen muß derselbe gewesen sein. Daß auch eine Frau darunter auftritt, braucht nicht zu verwundern, denn auch Angehörigen des weiblichen Geschlechtes war es möglich, als Veranstalterin von

Abb. 8. Stockholmer Sarkophag, Detail der Vorderseite.

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Spielen aufzutreten[41], deren man sich dann auf seinem Grab rühmen konnte. Übrigens tritt die Gewandform der Verstorbenen auch als Männerbekleidung auf[42], es handelt sich also wieder um das oben beschriebene Phänomen „neutraler" Gewandbüsten bzw. -figuren, die je nach Bedarf mit einem männlichen oder einem weiblichen Porträt versehen werden konnten.

Die Verstorbenen führten die Qualitäten ihres öffentlichen und ihres Privatlebens vor: Auch der Gebildete profilierte sich auf dem Gebiet des Amphitheaters und umgekehrt wollte derjenige, der in diesem Bereich Karriere gemacht hatte, zeigen, daß er nach seinem Aufstieg in die bessere Gesellschaft auch intellektuell dort mithalten konnte. Beiden mag die erworbene Bildung eine Aussicht auf die Unsterblichkeit ihrer Seele gegeben haben. Zu welcher Gruppe der Verstorbene des Stockholmer Sarkophages gehörte, wird sich wohl nie mehr klären lassen.

Jutta Stroszeck
Archäologisches Institut
Kochstraße 4
(W) 8520 Erlangen
Deutschland

Ich möchte mich bei Eva Rystedt und Pontus Hellström vom Medelhavsmuseet ganz herzlich dafür bedanken, daß sie mich auf das Stück aufmerksam gemacht haben, in großzügiger Weise Photos besorgten und Angaben über den Sarkophag mitteilten. Außerdem gilt mein Dank Marina Sapelli vom Museo Nazionale in Rom für die Abbildungserlaubnis des Sarkophages aus Valmontone (*Abb. 7*).

Abb. 2. Ehemals Rom, Via di S. Stefano del Cacco (inzwischen zerstört).

Abkürzungen

Im folgenden werden die Zeitschriftenabkürzungen der *Archäologischen Bibliographie* von 1990 verwendet, sowie außerdem:

Index, *Index der antiken Kunst und Architektur. Denkmäler des griechisch-römischen Altertums in der Photosammlung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom*. München, New York, London & Paris 1991

KS (1982), G. Koch & H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Handbuch der Archäologie), München 1982

McCann (1978), A.M. McCann, *Roman sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1978

MNR, A. Giuliano (ed.), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture*, Rom, ab 1979

Wegner, ASR V 3 (1966), M. Wegner, *Die Musensarkophage* (Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, V 3) Berlin 1966

Abbildungsnachweis: *Abb. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8*: Foto Margareta Sjöblom, Medelhavsmuseet; *Abb. 2, 8*: Aufnahmen der Verfasserin.

[1] Noch 1989 befand sich beispielsweise ein vollständig erhaltener Eroten-Clipeus-Sarkophag an der Via di S. Stefano del Cacco in Rom (H:52,2; L:200; B:57), wo er als Brunnenbekken diente (*Abb. 2*). Im Juni 1991 war das Stück bis auf die Bodenplatte zerstört. Für das Deutsche Archäologische Institut Rom wurde 1980 in der Abbazia Rosilli bei Gavignano ein Riefelsarkophag mit Tierkämpfen an den Nebenseiten photographiert. Bei einem Besuch in der Abbazia im Frühjahr 1990 konnte ich das Stück nicht finden. Nach Auskunft des Besitzers der Abbazia ist es gestohlen worden (*Index* 649, D 12-E 3).

[2] F. Matz & F. von Duhn, *Sarkophagreliefs* (Antike Bildwerke in Rom mit Ausschluß der größeren Sammlungen, Band 2), Leipzig 1881, 163, Nr. 2610.

[3] Nach L. Callari, *Le ville di Roma*, Roma 1934 (Nachdruck 1970), 373, 379, gehörte die Villa Rondinini bereits 1934 zu denjenigen römischen Villen, die zwar noch in Reiseführern erwähnt werden, deren genaue Lage jedoch nicht mehr zu ermitteln ist. Der antike Bestand der Villa und dessen Verbleib waren schon damals nicht mehr rekonstruierbar.

[4] K. Asplund, *Collection Bergsten* II, Stockholm 1943, Nr. 37 mit Abb.

[5] Maße: H: 62; L: 214; B: 64.

[6] Vergleiche den fragmentierten Sarkophag in Rom, S. Paolo fuori le Mura, auf dessen erhaltener linker Nebenseite das zweite Bein des Löwen fehlt: Wegner, ASR V 3 (1966), 136, 161, Nr. 187, Taf. 107 d, 119 c mit zu später Datierung. Dazu K. Fittschen, *Gnomon* 44, 1972, 494 (siehe unten). Bei einem Stück im Palazzo Arcivescovile in Monreale fehlen die Beine der *bestiarii*: U. Scerrato ‚Su alcuni sarcofagi con leoni',

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ArchCl 4, 1952, 259–273, Taf. 61:3; *Index* 649, E 13. F 3. F 10.

[7] Eine Schiffsladung mit – unter anderem – ovalen Sarkophagrohlingen, die Bossen für Löwenköpfe aufweisen, ist vor San Pietro in Bevagna bei Tarent gesunken und konnte in den sechziger Jahren untersucht werden: J.B. Ward-Perkins & P. Throckmorton, ‚The S. Pietro wreck', *Archaeology* 18:3, 1965, 201–209, Abb. auf S. 208f.

[8] Ein unfertig gebliebenes Stück im Museo Nazionale Romano in Rom (ohne Inventarnummer) zeigt die Rohform eines Kasten-Riefelsarkophages. Die Nebenseiten, die Seitenfelder und das Mittelfeld der Hauptseite sind noch in bossiertem Zustand belassen, nur der untere Teil der Riefeln ist ausgearbeitet. Aus einer ähnlichen Rohform könnte das Stockholmer Stück entstanden sein, nur müßte der Clipeus bereits angegeben gewesen sein. Die Löwen ließen sich aus den Eckfeldern und an den Nebenseiten ausarbeiten. M. Sapelli, in *MNR* I 7,2 (1984), 383, Nr. XII,16 mit Abb. Im Museumsgarten von Ostia befindet sich ein Riefel-Clipeus-Sarkophag mit ovalen, aber ungleich schrägen Nebenseiten. Der auf eine Basis gestellte Clipeus ist im Zentrum grob bossiert, am Rand gepickt und unfertig belassen.

[9] Wie bei einem Löwensarkophag im Vatikan: *EAA* VII (1966), 29, Abb. 45, *s.v.* sarcofago (Ch. Belting-Ihm); H.R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen*, Mainz 1990, 169, S 124, Taf. 89:2.

[10] Vgl. weitere rechteckige oder aus rechteckigen Grundformen hergestellte Sarkophage mit Tierkämpfen und zurückgewendetem Kopf des Löwen: Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 124681. M. Sapelli, *MNR* I 8 (1985), 36–38, Nr. I, 10, Abb.; Rom, Palazzo Colonna. *Idem*, ‚Il monumento funerario di un archiatra imperiale reimpiegato in un sarcofago strigilato', *BullCom* 91, 1986, 69–88, Abb. 6; sowie supra (Anm. 6) in Rom, S. Paolo fuori le Mura.

[11] Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 121540 aus Valmontone.
M. Sapelli, *MNR* I 7,2 (1984), 330–332, Nr. X,38, Abb.

[12] Malibu, John Paul Getty Museum 77.AA.65. G. Koch & K. Wight, *Roman funerary sculpture*, Malibu 1988, 58f., Nr. 19 mit Abb.

[13] D. Boschung & M. Pfanner, ‚Antike Bildhauertechnik. Vier Beispiele in der Münchener Glyptothek', *MüJb* 39, 1988, 7–28, bes. 15; H.Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch*, Lausanne & Freiburg i.Br. 1961, 39 bei S 11.

[14] In der zweiten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts n.Chr. bietet nach wie vor die stilkritische Methode zur Einordnung von Sarkophagen und Porträtköpfen die beste Basis. Vgl: Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 107895. L. Musso, in *MNR* I 7,2 (1984), 390–394, Nr. XIII,3, Abb. (um 280).

[15] N. Himmelmann, in *Eikones. Festschrift für H. Jucker*, Bern 1980, 141f., Abb. 47: 1–2 (275–300).

[16] Solche Hocker mit Löwenbeinen begegnen des öfteren als Sitzgelegenheit von „Philosophen": Wegner ASR V 3 (1966), Nr. 135, Taf. 55 a; McCann (1978), 130, Nr. 22, Anm. 2, Abb. 166–167.

[17] Zu den Philosophen oder Weisen auf Sarkophagen: KS (1982), 203–206.

[18] Vgl. die bei Wegner, ASR V 3 (1966), 32, Nr. 61, Taf. 32 abgebildete Muse mit Schriftrolle und McCann (1978), 46, Nr. 5, Abb. 48 (mittlere Muse).

[19] S. Walker, *Catalogue of Roman sarcophagi in the British Museum*, London 1990, 28, Nr. 25, Abb. 10; Vgl. auch Wegner, ASR V 3 (1966), Taf. 79, 81; McCann (1978), 132, Abb. 168; KS (1982), 204.

[20] Maße: H: 67,5; L unten: 165; B: 66. Wegner, ASR V3 (1966), 136, 161, Nr. 187, Taf. 107d, 119c; McCann (1978), 132, Abb. 168.

[21] K.M. Türr, *Eine Musengruppe hadrianischer Zeit*, Berlin 1971, 28–31, Taf. 19–24. Die Festlegung von besonderen Zuständigkeitsbereichen und Attributen für die Musen erfolgte erst spät und nicht konsequent. *Idem*, 7, 53f.

[22] D. Pinkwart, *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die Musen des Philiskos*, Kallmünz 1965, 140ff., Taf. 7–8.

[23] Wegner, ASR V 3 (1966), Nr. 25, Taf. 112 ab; Nr. 48, Taf. 109b; Nr. 162, Taf. 110b; Nr. 193, Taf. 110a. Ein Ehepaar als siebenter Weiser beziehungsweise als neunte Muse ist auf dem Sarkophag des L. Pullius Peregrinus in Rom dargestellt: K. Fittschen (supra Anm. 6), 492f.; KS (1982), 200, 204, Abb. 264).

[24] KS (1982), 203.

[25] Als Geste der Bewunderung, der Präsentation und des Sieges interpretiert von: C.R. Chiarlo, ‚Sul significato dei sarcofagi a lenos decorati con leoni', *AnnPisa* 4, 1974, 1307–1345, bes. 1323, 1326, 1328.

[26] A. Manodori, *Amfiteatri, circhi e stadi di Roma*, Rom 1982, 62; zu den *bestiarii* und *venatores*: J.Cl. Golvin & Ch. Landes, *Amphithéâtres et gladiateurs*, Paris 1990, 190 (in der dort zitierten Stelle Sueton, *Claudius* 34, werden jedoch keine Attribute oder Waffen der *bestiarii* beschrieben).

[27] An zwei Sarkophagen mit Löwentierkämpfen ist die Bemalung besonders gut erhalten: Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 124745 und Inv. 125802. M. Sapelli, in *MNR* I 1 (1979), 312–315, Nr. 187 Abb.; *idem*, in *MNR* I 8,1 (1985), 1–5, Nr. I,1, Abb.

[28] „Gleichgültigkeit gegen zoologische Gegebenheiten oder Unkenntnis derselben" fiel bei Sarkophagen auch K. Schauenburg, ‚Die lupa romana als sepulkrales Motiv', *JdI* 81, 1966, 270ff., bes. 293, auf.

[29] Zur Benutzung vorbereiteter Sarkophagrohlinge bei Auftragsarbeiten: B.Andreae, *MarbWPr* 1984, 107–128, bes. 112.

[30] J. Prieur, *La mort dans l'antiquité romaine*, La Guerche-de-Bretagne 1986, 182f. Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* I 16.37–38 (zum pythagoräischen Glauben an die Unsterblichkeit der Seele); I 49.117–119 (Die Philosophie befreit von der Angst vor dem Tode).

[31] Dem Julius Achilleus, einem ehemaligen Direktor des *ludus magnus* (der großen Gladiatorenkaserne in Rom) ließ seine Gattin Aurelia Maximina beispielsweise einen Sarkophag mit der Darstellung von Tierkampfgruppen an den Nebenseiten

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(Löwen zerreißen Ziegen) herstellen: Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 125802. M. Sapelli, in *MNR* I 1 (1979), 312–315, Nr. 187, Abb. Hierin darf m.E. eine Anspielung auf den Beruf des Verstorbenen gesehen werden.

[32] Der Löwe als Grabwächter ist ein in der Antike häufig wiederkehrendes Symbol, dessen abschreckende Wirkung verstärkt wird, wenn der Löwe beutezerreißend wiedergegeben ist. Dazu F. Hölscher, *Die Bedeutung archaischer Tierkampfbilder*, Würzburg 1972, 67, 100f.

[33] Chiarlo (supra Anm. 25), 1336.

[34] Supra Anm. 6 und 20.

[35] Fittschen (supra Anm. 6), 494.

[36] Unpubliziert. Auch dieser Sarkophag ist aus einem rechtekkigen Rohling gearbeitet. Nirgends am ganzen Stück ist ein Bohrer eingesetzt worden. Die Tierkampfgruppen an den Nebenseiten sind unfertig geblieben. R. Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa*, 5, Prato 1879, 124, Taf. 383:2; Fittschen (supra Anm. 6), 496, Nr. b.

[37] Vgl. K. Fittschen, ‚Über Sarkophage mit Porträts verschiedener Personen', *MarbWPr* 1984, 129–161, bes. 138, Abb. 27–31 (mittelseverische Beispiele). Diese Frisur begegnet noch bei vielen anderen Sarkophagporträts, zum Beispiel bei einem Kindersarkophag in Cliveden in England (Verstorbene in der Mandorla): H.G. Oehler, *Photo und Skulptur*, Köln 1980, 64, Nr. 44, Taf. 69; oder bei einem bisher unpublizierten Sarkophag im Palazzo Farnese in Rom: Matz & Duhn (supra Anm. 2), 164, Nr. 2618; Negative beim Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Rom, Inv. 76. 2977–2983.

[38] Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 125802. Sapelli (supra Anm. 31).

[39] Lucca, Palazzo Pfanner. Maße: H: 71; L: 195; B: 64,5. Chiarlo (supra Anm. 25), 1339, Taf. 124 oben.

[40] P. Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage* (Antike Sarkophagreliefs IV 4), Berlin 1984, 224, Nr. 148, Taf. 67:4.

[41] Bereits 38 n.Chr. gab Drusilla Spiele in Rom: J.-Ch. Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain*, 1, Paris 1988, 62, Anm. 213.

[42] Vergleiche die männliche Büste im Clipeus eines Jahreszeitensarkophages in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Inv. 117. Kranz (supra Anm. 40), 43, 196, Nr. 42, Taf. 38:1 (mit falscher Inv.).

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Swedish Classical Archaeology 1990–1991

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The list presented below consists of books and papers in the field of Classical archaeology (including ancient art and architecture as well as history and numismatics) by Swedish scholars and by foreign scholars working in Sweden or at Swedish institutions or projects. It represents a sequel to the lists published since the 1987 issue of this Bulletin. It encompasses not only scholarly studies but also popular versions (in Swedish), especially when they concern the respective author's own research. The titles relative to Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean were collected by Dr Johan Flemberg, those relative to Italy and Western Mediterranean by Dr Örjan Wikander.

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Ambio. Journal of Human Environment, published by the Royal Swedish Academy of Science, Box 50005, S-104 05 Stockholm.

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Fornvännen. Journal of Swedish Antiquarian Research, published by the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (Distributor: Bibliotekstjänst, Kundtjänst, Fack S-221 01 Lund).

Folkets Historia, published by The National Society for The History of the People, Renstiernas gata 25, S-116 31 Stockholm.

Hydra. Working Papers in Middle Bronze Age Studies, edited by G. Nordquist, Dept. of Classical Archaeo-

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Journal of Prehistoric Religion, edited by Paul Åström & Jon van Leuven and published by Professor Paul Åström, P.L. 425, Jonsered Herrgård, S-433 76 Partille, Sweden.

Meddelande. Armémuseum, published by Armémuseum, Box 14095, S-104 41 Stockholm.

Medusa, published by the Society for a Swedish Journal of Antiquity, Renstiernas gata 25, S-116 31 Stockholm.

Nikephoros. Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur im Altertum, published by Weidmann Verlag, Hildesheim.

Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad, edited by J. Steen Jensen, Copenhagen and published by The Nordic Numismatic Union.

Orgelforum. Journal of the Swedish Organon Society, P.O. Box 19086, S-161 19 Bromma, Sweden.

Polhem. Journal of Technical History, published by The Swedish National Committee for Technical History, Ingenjörsvetenskapsakademien, P.O. Box 5073, S-102 42 Stockholm.

Populär historia, published by Historiska media AB, P.O. Box 935, S-220 09 Lund.

Religio. Skrifter utgivna av Teologiska Institutionen i Lund, published by the Dept. of Theology, Lund University.

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Sfinx. Journal published by Orbis Terrarum, Dept. of Classical Archaeology, Aarhus University, DK-8000 Aarhus C, Denmark.

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Vetenskapssocietetens i Lund årsbok, see Årsbok. Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund.

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Activities 1990–1991

Lars-Olof Sjöberg

1990/91 was a year of stabilization and inner development for the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities. During the past year, especially the latter six months of the report period, the temporary shortage of personnel working with public information and education resulted in more emphasis being put on internal activities including storeroom work. The preparatory work for forthcoming exhibitions proceeded according to plan. An irritating incident was the flooding of one of the storerooms (Linnégatan) where parts of the Cypriot collections were housed. This resulted in the time-consuming removal of the objects which left the Graeco-Roman Department little time for other activities.

During the past year, the position as director of the Graeco-Roman Department at the Museum was filled by Dr. Eva Rystedt. She substituted for Dr. Pontus Hellström who was on leave of absence to take up the position as director of the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul.

The Egyptian Department made a very important acquisition: a large sculpture of a sitting jackal (*Fig. 1*). It is of limestone and is 73 cm high. This sculpture is a magnificent piece of art from the latter part of the New Kingdom, i.e., about 1200–1100 B.C. It represents the god Anubis, authenticated by inscriptions on it which identify the jackal as "The Guardian Anubis". It is likely that it was placed outside a tomb or some sacred edifice.

During the year, a Coptic textile fragment was also donated to the Museum.

The Graeco-Roman collections were augmented by two acquisitions: the first from the area of ancient sculpture, the second from the field of ceramics. The sculpture (bought with the help of a donation) is an excellent marble head representing a young man (*Fig. 2*). Found in Egypt, it is datable to Hellenistic or Roman times: an in-depth study is required for a more precise date. The ceramics consist of four Etruscan vases ranging from the sixth to the fourth century B.C. Two of them are of types not previously represented in the collections.

A gift of a model of the Acropolis in Athens was also donated to the Museum during the past year.

As already mentioned, a storeroom housing part of the Cypriot collections was flooded in October 1990. It required a three-month, concentrated effort to remove all the objects (mainly pottery). These are now packed and stored, which means that their accessibility is considerably reduced.

In the aftermath of the mentioned rescue operation, Kjell Malmgren from Gothenburg made an analysis of the current storeroom conditions of the Cypriot collection and in a written report suggested measures for ameliorating the situation.

We are currently going through all artifacts in the Graeco-Roman storerooms and assigning them new, stable positions, a measure doubly necessary after the repeated moves to which the material was subjected in the 80's. This work can be seen as an important step in the ongoing work of computerized registration of the Graeco-Roman material which began in 1989/90.

Dr. Eva Rystedt studied material in the Museum's Graeco-Roman collections. The results will be published partly in the Museum's Bulletin, partly in a *Festschrift* for the former Director General of the Central Board of National Antiquities in Cyprus, Vassos Karageorghis. The latter article, entitled "On Mycenaean Pictorial Bulls", will appear in the next volume of the Bulletin of the Society for Cypriot Studies. She also prepared an article "Zorn's Collection of Antiquities – A Survey" which will be printed in the catalogue issued

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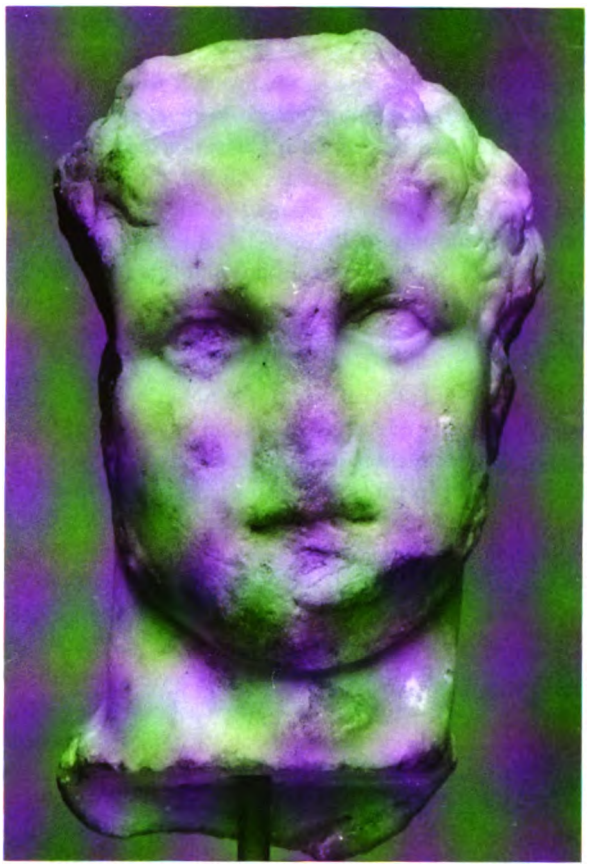

Fig. 1–2. New acquisitions. MME 1990:8 and MM 1991:1.

in connection with the exhibition "Zorn and the Ancient World" (cf. below).

Dr. Ingegerd Lindblad wrote an article for the Museum's Bulletin on two canopic jars. She also produced a scientific documentation of Zorn's Egyptian antiquities and prepared entries covering some of them for the Zorn exhibition catalogue.

Dr. Brita Alroth, Suzanne Unge-Sörling and Marie-Louise Winbladh all contributed studies on selected items of the Zorn collection of antiquities, to be published in the same catalogue.

During the autumn of 1990 an exhibition titled "Two Hellenes in Sweden" was held. Two artists, Matheo Yamalakis and Dimitrios Karvélas, displayed paintings and drawings, their themes in many cases associated with ancient Greece. During the exhibition Yamalakis also presented video films he had made. The exhibition coincided with the Swedish-Greek "Culture Month" dedicated to Mikis Theodorakis.

Two minor exhibitions were also held during the year. The first, a poster exhibition about the Siwa oasis, was made in connection with a demonstration of Oriental dance and a display of Egyptian jewelry and costumes. The other, titled "Fragrance and Vanity", comprised Graeco-Roman, Egyptian and Islamic artifacts from the Museum's collections. It was accompanied by lectures on the theme "Hygiene in the Ancient World". The Swedish journal Medusa published a special feature issue on the subject and the shop in the Museum sold cosmetic articles.

In general the past year was a year characterized by preparatory work for forthcoming, larger exhibitions. Thus, a long-term exhibition of the Islamic collections of the Museum was produced; an exhibition of the drawings of Ferdinand Boberg was prepared; work with the so-called Gold Room (housing golden objects from Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Byzantium etc.) went on the whole year; finally, the work of transforming an old

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storeroom into an Egyptian grave was nearly completed. The preparations for the exhibition "Zorn and the Ancient World" displaying the Swedish painter Anders Zorn's large collection of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian antiquities (part of the Zorn Collections, Mora) were exceptionally time-consuming. All the above mentioned exhibitions are to be opened to the general public during the autumn of 1991.

The work of conducting groups and tours was extensive. During the past year almost 700 hours were spent giving tours, of which *c.* 580 hours were for school classes.

The Museum also offered programmes in association with the further education of teachers and special tours for groups of teachers took place during the year.

A series of lectures on Ancient Egypt by Dr. Ingegerd Lindblad of the Egyptian Department was held during the autumn of 1990. By public demand, the series was held again during the spring of 1991. Both series were fully booked.

Within the framework for the Swedish-Greek "Culture Month" in November 1990, a series of lectures titled "Aspects of Greek Culture" was held. Just before Christmas, a series of lectures on "Roman Mores and Imperial Cult" was given. In collaboration with Folkuniversitetet (The University Extension Organisation), the following series of lectures were held: "The Seven Ancient Wonders" and "The Kitchen of the Ancient World".

Several public events took place in collaboration with other institutions. Under the title "Six Museums on Love" the theme of love was explained and interpreted by six different museums in Stockholm. A series specially aimed at the world of ceramics in which the employees of the museum took part was organized by the Society of the Friends of Ceramics. The one-day symposium on the theme "Swedish Authors on Classic Ground", which was organized in collaboration with the Society of the Friends of the Swedish Institute in Athens, was the fifteenth one-day symposium organized in cooperation with the societies of friends of the Swedish Institutes in Athens and Rome.

Two series of lectures on Islamic and Near Eastern cultures were also held. The first, a series of lectures on "The Near East in Focus", was very much a subject of topical interest due to the political situation prevailing in the early spring of 1991. The second, a one-day symposium on "Istanbul – Continuity and Change", was organized in collaboration with The Society of The Friends of the Swedish Institute in Istanbul. The Museum was also co-organizer in the one-day symposium "The World of Islam" in the county Museum in Västerås.

Three concerts were held in the central hall of the museum, with Swedish solo artists and Greek guest artists including the Greek-Cypriot pianist Eleni Mouzalas.

During the year the Museum had many visits from scholars all over the world. The Cyprus collections attracted most of these visits. It should also be mentioned here that during the period 1 February 1991-31 January 1992, Gloria Ikosi, a young scholar from Cyprus, studied Cypriot material at the Museum thanks to a scholarship granted by the Swedish Institute in Stockholm. In the course of her study, she prepared an article for the Museum's Bulletin in which she will present 100 hitherto unpublished terracotta figurines from Ayia Irini excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

In December 1990, Dr. Eva Rystedt participated in an international conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome, "First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas". She was active both as a member of the organization committee and as a speaker, her lecture being entitled "Panther Followed by Lion. On the Reconstruction of the Regia Plaques".

Dr. Carl-Gustaf Styrenius from the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities and antiquarian Birgitta Hoberg from the Central Board of National Antiquities wrote a report on their trip to Morocco in May 1990, where the Swedish participation in an international rescue action in the town of Fez was the subject for consideration. The report has been circulated to the Swedish authorities referred to in the document and also to other interested bodies. Negotiations have also begun between the Swedish Embassy in Rabat and the Moroccan authorities.

The excavations which are economically administered by the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities continued during the past year. Dr. Pontus Hellström began a new campaign at Labraunda in September 1990. Excavations also continued at Asine and Chania. Regarding the Carthage project work is near conclusion. The final publications have been delayed but are due to come out shortly.

Bulletin 25, 1990, edited by Dr. Eva Rystedt, appeared during the report period. It contained scholarly articles mainly about items in the Museum. The Society of the Friends of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities generously helped to defray the costs of printing.

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